DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 120 068 SO 008 970

AUTHOR	Gillespie, Judith A.; Lazarus, Stuart
TITLE	Clean Air Now: Political Issues. Comparing Political Experiences, Experimental Edition.
INSTITUTION	American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C.; Social Studies Development Center, Bloomington, Ind.
SPONS AGENCY	National Science Foundation, Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE	75
NOTE	144p.; For related documents, see SO 008 957-972
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.83 HC-$7.35 Plus Postage
DESCRIPTORS	Case Studies; Change Strategies; Class Activities; *Community Action; Community Change; Concept Teaching; Course Content; Documentaries; Grade 12; Instructional Materials; Political Influences; *Political Issues; *Political Science; Politics; *Pollution; Secondary Education; *Social Studies Units
IDENTIFIERS	California (Riverside); *Comparing Political Experiences; High School Political Science Curriculum Project

ABSTRACT

The fourth unit to the second-semester "Comparing Political Experiences" course focuses on a specific, controversial, political issue. Using a documentary approach, this unit analyzes the concept of political change by examining the changes in Riverside, California, as that community confronts the issue of smog. The unit is divided into five student activities. The first activity introduces students to the geographic area of southern California, the causes and effects of smog, the effect of smog on Riverside, and the political environment in Riverside. Activity 2 explores the concept of mobilization and how it has affected the smog issue. Activity 3 introduces the concept of political innovation and the way it affects change. Students focus on the court case "Riverside vs. Ruckelshaus" as an illustration of political innovation. Activity 4 examines how the concept of interdependence affects change and the extent to which Riverside became interdependent with aspects of the political environment. Activity 5 teaches students how to forecast the future of a political system experiencing change by examining alternative futures for Riverside. Each activity contains the necessary student materials and student discussion questions. A data packet of supplementary readings and exercises is also included. (Author/DE)

Comparing Political Experiences

ED120068

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Judith Gillespie

TO ERIC AND ORGANIZATIONS OPERATING UNDER AGREEMENTS WITH THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION. FURTHER REPRODUCTION OUTSIDE THE ERIC SYSTEM REQUIRES PERMISSION OF THE COPYRIGHT OWNER."

Clean Air Now

Judith Gillespie
Stuart Lazarus

© Copyright, 1975
The American
Political Science Association

EXPERIMENTAL
MATERIALS

MAR 02 1978

COMPARING POLITICAL EXPERIENCES

POLITICAL ISSUES

CLEAN AIR NOW

Judith Gillespie
Stuart Lazarus

High School Political Science Curriculum Project
Social Studies Development Center
513 North Park Street
Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana 47401

These experimental curriculum materials are part of a two-semester high school course, Comparing Political Experiences. The materials constitute one unit of one semester, Political Issues. The course is being developed by the High School Political Science Curriculum Project, which is one of the projects sponsored by the American Political Science Association's Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education. The project is supported by funds provided by the National Science Foundation. These materials cannot be duplicated, reproduced or used in any manner without the specific written approval of the High School Political Science Curriculum Project.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many members of the High School Political Science Curriculum Project have contributed to the development of this unit. The project is co-directed by Judith Gillespie, Howard Mehlinger and John Patrick. Dave Lambert has served as coordinator of the development of evaluation materials and is in charge of pilot testing for the program. Howard Mehlinger carries responsibility for the diffusion dimension of the program. Martin Sampson administers and coordinates pilot school activities. Judith Gillespie and Stuart Lazarus are directly responsible for the materials developed in this unit.

Several instructional developers and artists have made important contributions to this unit. We would like to offer acknowledgments to each of them for their contributions:

Joel Pett:	Various illustrations in Activities One, Two and Four; maps in Activities One, Three, and Four.
Nina Thayer:	The production work on the audio tape, "A View From The Top," in Activity One.
Michael Viera:	The case materials for "Ten Years Back" in Activity One.
B'Ann Wright:	The case materials for "South Austin Changes" in Activity Four.

Each of these people continue to provide a creative and important intellectual stimulus for our work.

We also wish to acknowledge the sponsorship of the American Political Science Association's Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education. Throughout the life of the project, the Committee members have provided important support and input into the project. The committee members are: Richard Snyder, Chairman, Ohio State University; Lee Anderson, Northwestern University; Laurily Epstein, Washington University; Leslie McLemore, Jackson State College; Howard Mehlinger, Indiana University; Jewel Prestage, Southern University; Judith Torney, University of Illinois, Circle Campus; Harmon Zeigler, University of Oregon. Since March, 1972 the project has also received continuous support with funds provided by the National Science Foundation. Without this funding we could not undertake such an experimental program, nor could we support extensive field tests of the materials.

This unit is based on a great deal of interview material gathered in Riverside, California in the winter of 1974. We are grateful to many members of the city government who helped us to gather first-hand information about their city. Thanks to the help of the citizens of Riverside, we were able to gather some public sentiment concerning smog. Of particular help were the officers and members of Clean Air Now. Much of the material included in this unit is taken from the extensive interviews we conducted in Riverside. Finally, we owe a special thanks to Michael Viera, a doctoral student in Political Science at the University of California in Riverside. He engaged in tasks ranging from research to photo printing to writing case materials. Mike provided the missing link in our absence from Riverside.

We have also been demonstrably aided in our efforts to develop and test materials by ideas, critiques and site evaluations from our local field consultants. The field consultant network began as an effort to join university-based political scientists and social studies educators with each of the pilot schools. The success of the network has far exceeded our original expectations. The consultants have worked with the pilot schools and critiqued materials. Eight people are also engaged in providing case materials on schools to aid in the development of instructional units. The consultants are listed below. The asterisks refer to those individuals who are engaged in gathering case materials:

*Hal Barger
Dept. of Political Science
Trinity University
715 Stadium Drive
San Antonio, Texas 78284

George Behlen
History Department
Youngstown State University
Youngstown, Ohio

*Winsten Cox
Department of Political Science
Howard University
Washington, D.C. 20001

*Chris Garcia
Department of Political Science
University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico 87101

Maurice Guysenir
Department of Secondary Education
Northwestern Illinois University
Bryn Mawr at St. Louis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60625

Michael Hartoonian
Department of Public Instruction
126 Langdon Street
Madison, Wisconsin 53702

*Mary Hepburn
Department of Social Science Education
Dudley Hall
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia 30601

Ray Hiner
School of Education
University of Kansas
Lawrence, Kansas 66044

Ruth Jones
Department of Political Science
8001 Natural Bridge Road
University of Missouri-St. Louis
St. Louis, Missouri 63121

Morris Lewenstein
Department of Social Science
California State University,
San Francisco
1600 Holloway Drive
San Francisco, California 94132

Sarah Liebschutz
Department of Political Science
SUNY at Brockport
Brockport, New York 14420

Jack Lowry
Department of Education
University of California at Davis
Davis, California 95616

James McKenny
Department of Political Science
Wichita State University
Wichita, Kansas 67208

Orvill Minard
Department of Political Science
University of Nebraska
Omaha, Nebraska

Dr. Manindra Mohapatra
Associate Professor of Political Science
Old Dominion University
Lafayette, Virginia 23508

Willis Moreland
Department of Social Education
104 Hensly Hall
University of Nebraska
Lincoln Nebraska

*James Oswald
Intercultural Studies Program
American Universities Field Staff
3 Lebanon Street
Hanover, New Hampshire 03755

Richard Remy
Mershon Center
The Ohio State University
199 West 10th Avenue
Columbus, Ohio 43201

Jack Simpson
Department of Curriculum & Instruction
Enderis 377
University of Wisconsin
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53201

Jim Stevens
Director of Financial Aids
Marietta College
Marietta, Ohio 45750

George Stoumbis
Department of Secondary Education
Mesa Vista Hall
University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico 87101

*Jan Tucker
College of Education
Florida International University
Tamiami Trail
Miami, Florida 33144

Ronald Urick
Department of Interdisciplinary Teacher Education
College of Education
Wayne State University
Detroit, Michigan 48202

Thomas Volgy
Department of Government
The University of Arizona
Tucson, Arizona 85721

Dennis Wiedmann
Department of Political Science
Carroll College
Helena, Montana 59601

*Karen Wiley
Social Science Education Consortium
855 Broadway
Boulder, Colorado 80302

*Maurice Woodard
Department of Political Science
Howard University
Washington, D.C. 20001

Edward Wynne
College of Education
University of Illinois at Chicago Circle
Box 4348
Chicago, Illinois 60680

Special thanks is extended to the pilot teachers who are testing these materials this year. Past evaluations from many teachers and from students have produced many insights into the strength and feasibility of our ideas.

This unit is a far different piece than was originally conceived because of their advice in its developmental stages. The pilot teachers testing Political Issues materials for the 1975-76 school year are listed below:

Joe Bartges
George Washington High School
1522 Tennis Club Road
Charleston, West Virginia 25314

Diane Bolling
Roxbury High School
335 Greenville
Boston, Massachusetts

David Bonnette
Frontier High School
Route 2, Box 45
New Matamoras, Ohio 45767

Tom Castellano
Clyde-Savannah High School
215 Glasgow Street
Clyde, New York 14433

Tom Coats
South Dade Senior High School
24801 S.W. 167th Avenue,
Homestead, Florida 33030

Bob Cook
Rio Americano High School
4540 American River Drive
Sacramento, California 95825

Diana Cubbage
Wichita High School North
1437 Rochester
Wichita, Kansas 67203

William Daley
Kellam High School
RFD 2, Box 2010
Virginia Beach, Virginia 23456

Tony Gauthier
Lawrence High School
19th and Louisiana Streets
Lawrence, Kansas 66044

Rosemary Gindhart
Delta High School
Rural Route #1
Muncie, Indiana 47302

Charles Gordon
Fremont Senior High School
1750 North Lincoln Avenue
Fremont, Nebraska 68025

Doug Jenisch
Hanover High School
Lebanon Street
Hanover, New Hampshire 03755

Harold Keller
Central Catholic High School
1403 North St. Mary's
San Antonio, Texas 72815

Richard F. Kraft
Los Altos High School
15321 E. Los Robles Avenue
Hacienda Heights, California 91745

James Kroll
Milwaukee Trade and Technical
High School
319 West Virginia Street
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53204

Shirley S. Mantlo
Fenger High School
11220 South Wallace
Chicago, Illinois 60628

Linda Matarrese
East High School
1545 Detroit Street
Denver, Colorado 80206

Tom Obrecht and Rachel Grogg
North High School
1550 Third Street
Riverside, California 92507

John O'Connor
Hyde Park High School
655 Metropolitan Avenue
Boston, Massachusetts 02136

Steven Prigohzy
Friends School in Detroit
1100 St. Aubin
Detroit, Michigan 48207

Richard Saul
The Rayan School
250 Bonita Avenue
Youngstown, Ohio 44540

Ray Vandersteen
Bloomington High School North
3901 Kinser Pike
Bloomington, Indiana 47401

David Victor
Lake Park High School
6N 600 Medinah Road
Roselle, Illinois 60172

Sara R. Vincent
Elbert County High School
Forest Avenue
Elberton, Georgia 30635

Marge Whatley
Houston Independent School District
4100 Chartres Street
Houston, Texas 77004

Elise Whyte
Anacostia High School
16th and R Streets, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20020

All of these people have demonstrably influenced the way this unit has been developed. However, the responsibility for the ideas and approaches taken in the materials should not be attributed to the APSA Pre-Collegiate Committee, the National Science Foundation, the consultants or the pilot teachers. Although their contributions continue to be invaluable, responsibility for the ideas presented here rests with the authors.

Judith Gillespie
Stuart Lazarus

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACTIVITY ONE:	A View From the Top	1
ACTIVITY TWO:	Clean Air Now	39
ACTIVITY THREE:	Riverside in Court	85
ACTIVITY FOUR:	More Groups	112
ACTIVITY FIVE:	What Next for Riverside?	125

ACTIVITY ONE: A VIEW FROM THE TOP

These drawings depict the same city, Riverside, California. The drawing on the left shows Riverside on a clear sunny day. The drawing on the right shows Riverside blanketed with smog. To begin work with the unit, speculate answers to the following questions. As you work with these materials, you may return to these questions and revise your answers.

1. How might you account for the smog problem?

2. What actions could citizens in Riverside take to combat the smog?

_____

_____

_____

3. Whose help would be crucial to obtain?

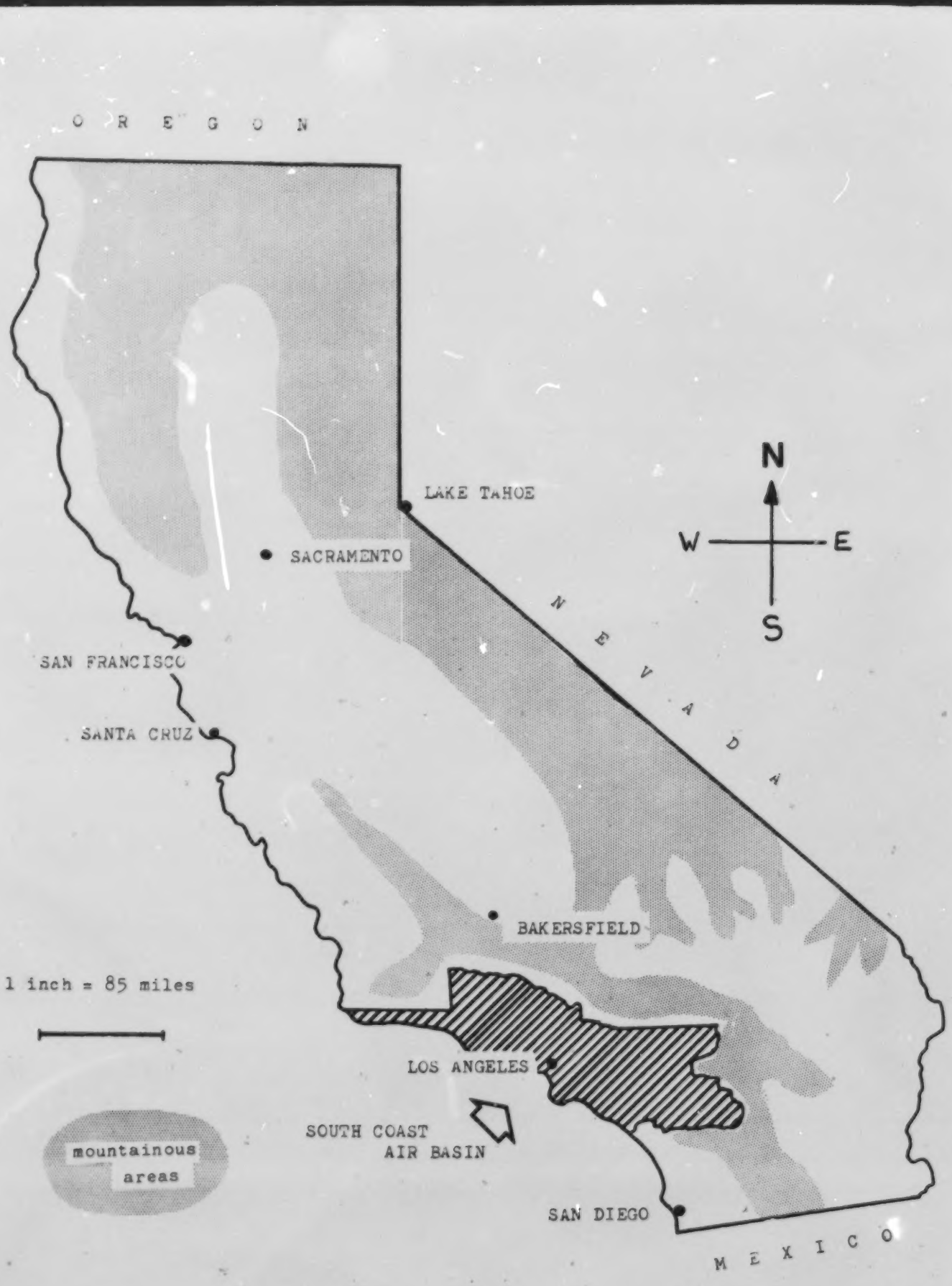
_____

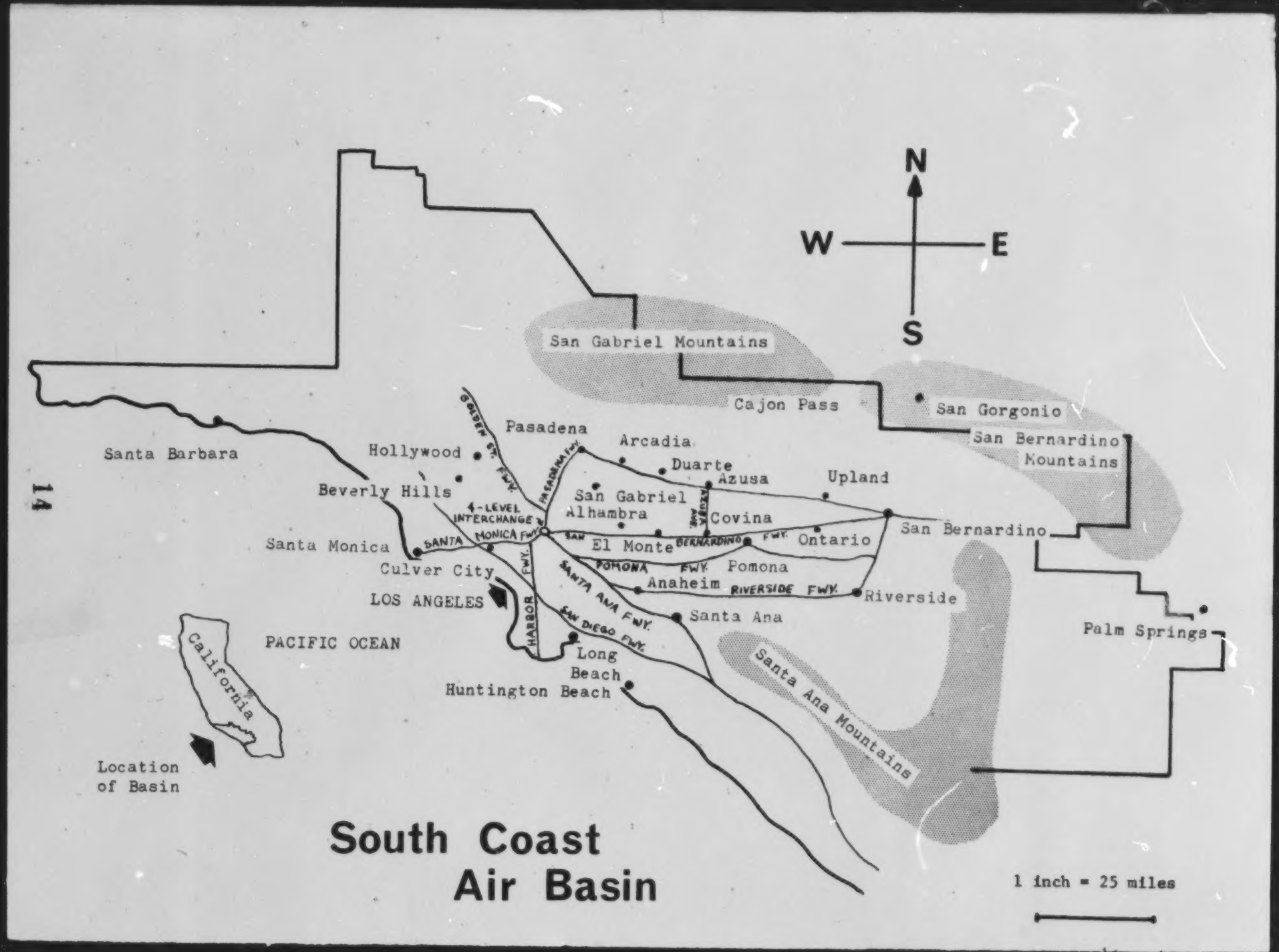
_____

_____

Radio stations in many large cities in the United States hire helicopters to report the flow of traffic from the air. These reports often help to zero in on traffic congestion and to identify alternative routes for motorists. You will hear a helicopter reporter, Dave Bresbank, as he describes the traffic situation over Los Angeles, California on a typical summer afternoon. The broadcast could have occurred on the radio just as you will hear it on the recording.

As you listen, study the maps which fold out of the text. They point out the area of southern California commonly known as the South Coast Air Basin. This unit focuses on one of the cities which lies in the basin -- Riverside, California. Like other cities in the area, it suffers in several ways due to the smog in southern California.


O R E G O N
LAKE TAHOE
SACRAMENTO
N
W
E
S
N E V A D A
SAN FRANCISCO
SANTA CRUZ
BAKERSFIELD
1 inch = 85 miles
LOS ANGELES
SOUTH COAST
AIR BASIN
mountainous
areas
SAN DIEGO
M E X I C O


N
W
E
S
San Gabriel Mountains
Cajon Pass
San Gorgonio
San Bernardino Mountains
Santa Barbara
Hollywood
Pasadena
Arcadia
Duarte
Azusa
Upland
Beverly Hills
San Gabriel
Alhambra
Covina
4-LEVEL INTERCHANGE
SANTA MONICA FWY.
SAN BERNARDINO FWY.
Ontario
San Bernardino
Santa Monica
El Monte
Culver City
POMONA FWY.
Pomona
Anaheim
RIVERSIDE FWY.
Riverside
LOS ANGELES
HARBOR FWY.
SANTA ANA FWY.
SAN DIEGO FWY.
Santa Ana
Palm Springs
PACIFIC OCEAN
Long Beach
Huntington Beach
Santa Ana Mountains
California
Location of Basin
South Coast Air Basin
1 inch = 25 miles

A View From The Top

Ron Hill:

That was a new one by What's It To Ya, a young group headed toward the top. It's 55 minutes past the big hour of three o'clock on the Ron Hill show. We've got a fine summer southern California day, 85 degrees and no clouds in sight.

At four o'clock, K-CPE will bring you the late breaking news stories of the day, a complete sports wrap-up and a look at tomorrow's weather. First, though, let's switch to Dave Bresbank who's flying over the city in our K-CPE helicopter. Dave has some traffic tips for any of you folks headed home for the weekend. Dave, what's happening up there?

Dave Bresbank:

Thanks, Ron. Traffic seems to be moving along pretty well as people hustle home this Friday. Right now we're making a slow circle over the Beverly Hills-Hollywood area -- lot of beautiful people down there, you know, Ron.

Now we're moving east toward Alhambra, El Monte, San Bernardino and the Riverside area. We're going to take a few extra minutes in our "View From The Top" report today -- we're not only going to tell you where you're moving down there on the snarled freeways, but we're also going to let you know where the smog's moving. It seems to be particularly smoggy today and we plan to follow the path of the smog as it moves out toward the Riverside area. This is part of our continuing effort at K-CPE to keep you, the listener, well informed.

Since it's 4:00 p.m., most of the smog has drifted inland from Los Angeles and has moved into the valley surrounded by the San Bernardino, San Gabriel and Santa Ana mountains. On hot summer days like this, the smog is really intense -- and, we're seeing evidence of that right now.

First, a few tips to you drivers leaving the city. We're headed east over the beautiful Santa Monica freeway. We just passed over Culver City, and the intersection with the San Diego freeway is clear. The traffic seems to be moving well in all directions as we head east to the intersection with the Harbor freeway.

We're turning slightly north now as the Harbor freeway turns to the Civic Center area and the four-level interchange. It looks to me like two semi's collided at the junction of the San Bernardino and Santa Ana freeways. One of them has jacknifed and we've got at least 12 cars piled up in a chain reaction. You'll want to stay away from that area today, folks. You can expect a 15-minute delay at the interchange area. The police down below tell us that, fortunately, no one is seriously hurt in that mess of two trucks and 12 cars. Traffic is backed up for at least four miles in all directions. Folks, if you're headed out south or east, I'd avoid that area like the plague. The Golden State freeway or the Pamona freeway are both good alternate routes.

Wow! We can really see that low, dark layer of smog as it moves out in the direction of the Pasadena freeway. We'll leave it now, though, as we head farther east and follow the San Bernardino freeway toward Upland, Ontario and all the way out to Riverside. The traffic is thinning as we

move east following the San Gabriel mountains. Even this late in the summer, San Gorgonio mountain, in the San Bernardinos, is snow capped and it's just real beautiful. We can see it rising above the smog layer, more than 20 miles away. That's a sight you people on the ground seldom see!

One of the things which might interest you is the way the smog gets hemmed in by the peaks of the San Gabriel, San Bernardino and Santa Ana mountains. The smog just moves right out from Los Angeles and gets trapped by the mountains which surround the San Bernardino-Riverside area. There's no way for it to get out. You can actually see a thick, dark layer of smog settled low over the valley which we are just flying over. There's only one escape for the smog. Where the San Gabriels meet the San Bernardino mountains at Cajon pass, smog can get through to the desert communities beyond.

Hold it, Ron! We just spotted some trouble on the San Bernardino freeway, as we move up toward Covina at the intersection of Azuza Avenue. Looks to me as though there's a funeral procession and the police are holding up the other vehicles while the funeral proceeds by. It has, however, resulted in lines and lines of cars backed up at least half a mile on the San Bernardino freeway, and one fourth of a mile on either side of Azuza Avenue. Other than that one snarl, the traffic looks pretty good; so, we're going to move on out toward Riverside.

The smog's particularly bad today. We've had reports from Riverside that schools have been let out early, all outdoor athletic events have been cancelled and people with heart and respiratory ailments have been

warned to stay inside due to the intensity of the smog. As usual, the smog should dissipate by 7:00 p.m. and the area should be clear again by late evening. It will remain that way until early tomorrow morning when people start to drive into Los Angeles, building up more of the filth. Then the cycle will start again with the smog moving out to Riverside.

That's the traffic and smog report for now. I'll give it back to you, Ron.

That portion of the recording you have just heard provides information about smog in the South Coast Air Basin. Think about the recording for a moment and then answer the questions which follow. List at least two responses in each column.

	Where does the smog come from?	What causes the smog?	What effect does the smog have on people?
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			
5.			

Listen to the remainder of the recording. It provides additional information about how the citizens of Riverside have reacted to smog. You will hear a variety of citizens as they call in to K-CPE to express their opinions. They feel strongly about the smog which emerges from Los Angeles. Use the three questions on page 6 to guide you in gathering information from the recording.

Ron Hill:

O.K., Dave, thanks a lot. Always good to hear from you. I'm sure that information you gave us will help our drivers on their way home this Friday and also provide them with more knowledge about smog in the South Coast Air Basin. We'll talk to you Monday, Dave, but 'til then, so long. Remember out there, buckle-up for safety and keep that speed below 55.

In just three minutes we'll have the news for you. First, though, we're going to open up our K-CPE telephone lines and take some calls from Riverside, California. The switchboard informs me that Dave Bresbank's report has prompted many people to call in from Riverside to give their opinions about the way smog has affected their lives. So, we'll take the first callers who want to make a statement on the air. If you'll try to keep your statements short, folks, we can get four calls on before the news. Let's take the first caller right now:

Caller #1:

Ron, I'm a lawyer and I have a growing law practice here in the community. It's very difficult to attract good, competent help to a community that has a serious smog problem. If you look at the average

new student graduating from law school today -- and, this is true of medicine and of other forms of industry in the community -- if you look at the bright young person who's about to start his career, and give that person a choice of going to San Francisco, San Diego, Santa Barbara or Riverside, invariably he doesn't choose Riverside.

It isn't Riverside -- per se -- it's because he doesn't want to subject himself to starting a career in a place that is already suffering environmentally. They come here and see that, and they don't want to stay. In many instances the ones who do come now, we find, are largely those who have some other reason for being here: there's a long-existing family tie that brings them back, or they're married to someone who has a family here, or the family business is here, something like that. So, it has had an effect on the business community, not only on my own practice, where I've had trouble finding competent new lawyers to come here, but other law firms have experienced that, medical firms here have experienced that difficulty and I'm sure industry has, too.

Periodically, you'll see articles in the paper where industry indicates that they're having trouble attracting executives or they're leaving because of the pollution or that sort of thing.

Ron Hill:

Thank you, sir. Let's take another call. Could we keep 'em a little shorter, folks?

Caller #2:

Good afternoon, Ron. There're many factories that would locate in Riverside because it really is an ideal location and there are many selling points that would be persuasive, but because of the smog, they have stayed away. Now these are the type of plants that Riverside traditionally has solicited, the small, clean manufacturing plants that emit no smog of their own or that manufacture electronic components. Many of these companies are closing up or not coming in at all.

Ron Hill:

Thanks, sir. Remember out there, these comments are the personal opinions of the callers and do not necessarily represent the opinions of K-CPE. Another call?

Caller #3:

Ron, they say industry is coming in, and I don't think that industry should be penalized as hard as it is being penalized now. We have some big industries here in Riverside that hire a lot of people, but they have such a big burden on them that I just don't feel that they are polluting enough to be penalized so high. Yet, some people who are working under the federal government, I call them professional welfare recipients, are always hollering and don't realize that if that plant shuts off, they're going to fire two or three thousand people. Those are the ones that I get irritated with because they don't realize what the heck happens!

Ron Hill:

Thanks for calling. We've only got time for one more. Go ahead, ma'am.

Caller #4:

I tell my children to go out and play in the rain and the wind. When it's windy here, it's beautiful. In the summer, I bring them in. I'm usually anti-TV, but many times in the summer our smoggiest time is probably from one or two o'clock until seven o'clock, which is usually the time that children should be swimming, out playing or jump-roping. But I bring my children in in the summer and ask them to play quietly in the living room. And I have friends that do the same thing. I don't know, maybe it's not healthy for them psychologically, except I feel that I'm probably protecting their lungs.

I've heard a person who was running for political office tell us that he talked to a group of physicians in L.A.. He said that any child living in this area from the age of one to ten would have irreparable lung damage and would be a candidate for emphysema by the time they're 30. If this is a true statistic, any parent aware of this would have to protect his child. I feel sorry for the people in Riverside who don't have air-conditioning, because they are very susceptible. The only way to cool their houses is to leave the windows open. Not everyone can afford to have air-conditioning. As I said, when we were little, no one had it, it was unheard of, and we didn't mind the summers, they were very pleasant.

Ron Hill:

There you have it, folks. That's what people in Riverside think of smog. How about YOU??

Below you will find columns just like those you filled in on page 6. Having read some citizen reaction to smog in the South Coast Air Basin, list any new information you have gathered beneath the columns below.

	Where does the smog come from?	What causes the smog?	What effect does the smog have on people?
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			
5.			

Ten Years Back

The City of Riverside is located 50 miles east of Los Angeles. With a population of nearly 132,000 in 1965, the city was the largest community in Riverside County and served as the headquarters for county government. Many people in the county lived in Riverside and Palm Springs, a resort-retirement community located on the edge of the desert in the eastern part of the county. Most of the county's remaining 406,000 residents lived in semi-rural agricultural communities.

In the middle 1960's many citizens of Riverside thought of it as a small town where the pace of life was slow and people were friendly to strangers. Even though Los Angeles was only an hour's drive, no direct freeways connected the two cities. Riversiders thought of themselves as independent of "the whole L.A. mess." Although smog had become a bothersome nuisance, few residents of Riverside showed signs of doing much about it.

In 1964, the Riverside County Board of Supervisors had even voted to withdraw from a state program which required that autos be equipped with smog devices. The Riverside Press-Enterprise, the county's largest newspaper, received numerous letters from readers commending the Supervisors on their stand against the state motor vehicle smog program.

Ben Lewis succeeded E. V. Dales as Mayor of Riverside in 1965. Dales, 87, had seldom expressed any opinion on city issues, almost never spoke at official Council meetings and did not attend Council strategy sessions.

In contrast, Lewis was a native of Riverside, a past president of the local Chamber of Commerce and board chairman of an insurance company. Winning a landslide election, Lewis emphasized the city's water needs as well as necessary efforts to attract industrial development to the city. Neither Lewis nor any of the other candidates made any references to air pollution during the campaign.

The citizens of Riverside adopted a ward system of representation in 1963. The mayor became the only official elected at large from all seven wards. The City Charter gave the mayor a voice in all City Council proceedings, but the City Manager, John Wentz, handled the day-to-day municipal operations. As a career-oriented city manager, Wentz took pride in the professionally competent way he ran the city. Because the City Council reviewed his contract from time-to-time, he sought to avoid antagonizing its members.

First Ward representative, Harold Backstrand, heavily influenced the City Council at this time. Backstrand, who began his fourth, four-year council term in 1963, had more seniority than any other council member. He was a local stockbroker, a trustee of a prestigous local private college and politically conservative. While a council member, Backstrand used his political leverage to oppose federal involvement at the city level. For example, he went so far as to deny the need for a study of the city's deteriorating downtown area because he feared such studies would lead to a federally financed urban renewal project.

By the mid 1960's the University of California at Riverside had become a major Riverside employer and began to exert some influence on local politics, especially through moderate student activism on behalf of civil rights and open housing. The University also became a center for state-wide air pollution research and began programs in environmental training.

In October, 1966, the State Supreme Court issued an injunction blocking the $100 a month increase in City Council expense accounts until a taxpayers' suit against the Council payments was decided. The pay issue and urban redevelopment became the two biggest issues in the April 1967 City Council elections. Candidates for council seats were nearly unanimous in saying that council members should receive no compensation and should consider their positions a community service. Candidates also supported the idea of revitalizing the city's downtown and protecting the remaining orange groves within the city, but were not specific about how they would accomplish their goals. Most citizens doubted that a general growth plan, then being prepared by an outside consulting firm, would be followed by the City Council given their past record of reversing Planning Commission decisions.

A pre-election editorial in the Press-Enterprise called for the complete overhaul of the City Council which the newspaper criticized for "not having shown a grain of leadership." The newspaper went on to say, "Where civic progress has been made, it has come only as a result of, and reaction to, substantial citizen pressure." The normally moderate tone

of the Press-Enterprise was forgotten in the closing days of the campaign when it described an incumbent Council member as having all "the shortcomings which are so characteristic of this City Council -- deficiences of judgment, purpose and ability."

In the five council elections, only the Fifth Ward incumbent, Betz, was re-elected. Backstrand was replaced by a less conservative person, Wayne Holcomb. Art Pick, an investment manager, defeated the Third Ward incumbent. A high school civics teacher and former planning commissioner, Norton Younglove was elected in the Fourth Ward. A surgeon, Dr. Hiriam Belding, replaced the Fifth Ward incumbent and the Seventh Ward incumbent, Bruce Betz, was retained. A feud between the Press-Enterprise and Betz was not calmed when the newspaper insinuated that Betz was re-elected only because his opponent was even less qualified to sit on the City Council.

A mail survey of one hundred prominent Riversiders was conducted by the Press-Enterprise around the time of the City Council elections. Specifically, the questionnaire asked respondents how they thought the switch from at-large council elections to ward elections had changed the influence of various groups on city government. Most respondents were members of the upper class community in Riverside. Four neighborhood retail merchant groups as well as builders and citrus farmers were named from the business community.

1967
Has the Ward System Resulted in More or Less Influence?

Influence:	More	About the Same	Less
Minority Groups	47	27	10
Arlington Area Business	35	33	8
Small Businessmen	9	50	16
Downtown Area Business	26	32	18
Magnolia Center Business	17	50	8
Youth Groups	25	39	11
Citrus, Victoria Avenue	11	32	37
Builders	31	38	8
Cultural Groups	16	36	26
Average Citizens	16	36	26
Homeowners	12	37	27

Not surprisingly, the same influence patterns were reflected on the new City Council. Ward One's representative was Holcomb, an executive for a local savings and loan company. Ward Two, which contained the University and many of the city's minority residents, was represented by John Sotelo, a service station operator of Mexican-American background. Ward Three was represented by Art Pick, an investment manager. Ward Four was represented by Norton Younglove, a high school civics teacher and former planning commissioner. Ward Five was represented by Dr. Belding, a successful surgeon who had previously chaired the Chamber of Commerce Committee on Air Pollution. Ward Six's councilman was Mr. Renk, a local businessman and a former president of the Arlington area Chamber of Commerce. Lastly, Ward Seven was represented by Bruce Betz, an insurance salesman and active Chamber of Commerce member.

At about the same time as the City Council elections, the County Board of Supervisors was adopting an anti-smog law that would halt outside burning in the county over a three-year period. The burning ban was opposed by the County's agricultural interests. A week after the burning ban was approved, a County Supervisor, representing a portion of Riverside City, reversed his vote and came out in opposition to the new ordinance. Citizen attitudes were still not firmly in support of pollution controls and the Press-Enterprise coverage of pollution problems remained meager.

Two years after Watts, Riverside had its own long summer. In addition to being the hottest and smoggiest August in three years, numerous local businesses were fire bombed. A summer program to employ the city's out-of-school youth was spearheaded by Mayor Lewis. The job program, along with the arrests of several suspected arsonists, brought the summer to a peaceful close.

In February 1968, a state-wide meeting on conservation was held in Palm Springs. An air pollution researcher from the University of California, Riverside, read a paper on the harmful effects of smog on trees in the San Bernardino National Forest. One conference participant summed up the feelings of those attending the meeting, saying, "We can anticipate the public becoming more air-quality minded."

While Ben Lewis had been a more active mayor than the man he succeeded, he had not yet begun to work closely with the City Council. In June 1968, Lewis was elected to an advisory council board of the U. S. Conference of

Mayors. As an advisory board member, he was often called upon to travel outside Riverside to attend hearings on various municipal issues. Through his advisory board position, Lewis finally had some tangible duties and a means of representing Riverside, even if it meant being absent from the city.

By the summer of 1968, air pollution was a recognized problem that no one had time for. The County Board of Supervisors, divided between urban and rural interests, looked to the Los Angeles Board of Supervisors for leadership, but it was not forthcoming. The Riverside City Council, made up primarily of local businessmen, and the Mayor, both sought to attract industry and growth to the city. In doing so, they attempted to emphasize the many positive aspects of Riverside and to play down the negative aspects, namely air pollution. The U. C. campus at Riverside had the expertise to describe the problem, but not the political means of solving it. In 1968 the dovish Press-Enterprise was involved in reporting the local effects of the Vietnam War and gave smog problems little attention. Clearly, if anyone was to act on the problem of pollution, they would have to come from outside the indentifiable Riverside political spectrum.

Answer the following questions in the spaces provided below. After you answer all of the questions, write two or three sentences which describe the political systems of Riverside.

1. Who are the political actors in Riverside?

_____

_____

_____

2. Name one resource used by each actor.

3. Name one activity in which each actor is engaged.

4. Who makes most of the decisions for the system of Riverside?

5. How do people participate in political life in Riverside?

6. In the space below draw a diagram which shows the relationship between the political actors in the system of Riverside.

7. Write two or three sentences which describe the system of Riverside as it existed in 1968.

_____

_____

_____

_____

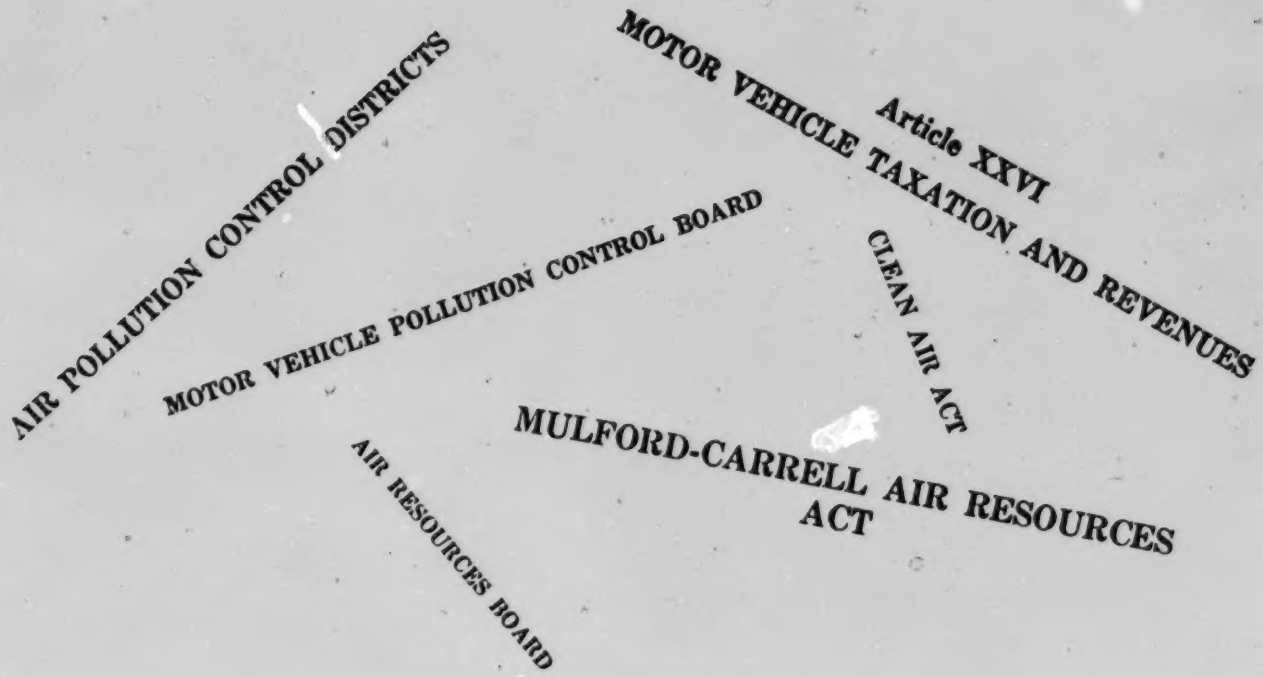
_____

You have described many of the characteristics of the political system of Riverside, California. As the case on pages 12 to 18 suggested, prior to 1968, Riverside was a community in which most decisions were made by the mayor, the city manager, the city council, and the county board of supervisors. They were the recognized leaders of the community and, as such, made most of the important decisions for it. These leadership positions were gained through the electoral process or, as in the case of the city manager, by appointment of elected officials.

These men and women controlled the amount of information available to the public. For example, one county officer, Clifton Seymour, the Air Pollution Control Officer, kept records on the pollutants emitted by local industry. He used this information to formulate Riverside county policy toward the regulation of air pollution standards. This information was not available to the public and even Mr. Seymour's superiors, the County supervisors, had difficulty obtaining it. Therefore, decisions about pollution standards in Riverside County were made only by those few

people with access to the necessary information. The public rarely became involved in such decisions. Even if citizens wanted to participate in such decisions, their lack of organization prevented them from doing so. Other than such traditional service clubs such as the Kiwanis Club and the Lions Club, no groups existed with pollution control as their main purpose. The lack of such organizations was thus a stumbling block for many citizens who wished to participate in the political life of their community. Air pollution represented a growing problem for the Riverside community and they appeared poorly organized to effectively confront it.

Political Environment



Riversiders grew anxious about the smog blanketing their city. The whole issue was made extremely complex by various individuals, groups, laws, and agencies. The following interview shows just how difficult it was to know who had responsibility for cleaning up the smog. As one resident put it, "knowing Riverside is one thing. I've lived here all my life. But to be an effective citizen, you've got to know the county, the state, and a dozen other agencies."

As you read the following 1971 interview with Mary Kiley, try to identify the problems which she points to. Who else became involved in the air-quality issue in the South Coast Air Basin? What was the potential of each for effecting Riverside?

Interviewer:

How did smog become a problem?

Mary Kiley:

From cars. No doubt, cars. You have to realize that California took early responsibility for the type of transportation it would have within its borders. We have one of the best freeway systems in this country. The freeways make it possible for the citizens of the state to fully enjoy its natural beauty. For example, in southern California, the mountains lie only an hour's drive from Los Angeles. Travel from the mountains to the ocean for an afternoon at the beach is usually no more than one hour's drive. The natural beauty of the California countryside and the freeways which provide easy access to it, lure many Californians into their cars. Any Californian will tell you that an hour's drive to a rock concert is "nothing."

Interviewer:

Where did the money come from to build the freeway system which criss-crosses the state?

Mary Kiley:

The state received monies from the federal government to build highways but it also possessed a unique way by which to secure additional funds to build and to maintain highways. In 1938 the state legislature amended the constitution of the state with Article XXVI. This article committed state revenue, gained from the sale of fuel and from the sale of operators' licenses within the state, to the development of a highway system. In 1970, this law produced over 800 million dollars devoted to the construction of highways. No wonder the state has such a tremendous system of freeways! (The text of Article XXVI appears below.)

CONSTITUTION OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA
Article XXVI
Motor Vehicle Taxation and Revenues, Section 1, paragraph 9 (a)

> From and after the effective date of this article, all moneys collected from any tax now or hereafter imposed by the State upon the manufacture, sale, distribution, and use of motor vehicle fuel, for use in motor vehicles upon the public streets and highways over and above the costs of collection, and any refunds authorized by law shall be used exclusively and directly for highway purposes . . . .

The automobile is responsible for the production of the vast majority of air pollution in the South Coast Air Basin. All these freeways just encourage citizens to drive, producing more revenue from the "gas tax," providing more money for the construction of new freeways. Of course, this process results in more smog as more people in more cars set out on the roads of California. In the end, the worst smog areas in the state, such as Riverside, suffer most seriously.

Interviewer:

What can be done about the constitution?

Mary Kiley:

Well, in 1970 the California State Legislature voted to place on the November ballot a constitutional amendment. They called it Proposition 18 and also the "clean air" amendment. It allowed up to 25% of the money collected from the "gas tax" revenues to be used for local public transportation needs. If their citizens approved, counties could designate such money for local use. Also, Proposition 18 would allow the state to use some of this money for "the control of environmental pollution caused by motor vehicles." The "clean air" amendment received support from candidates running for many state offices in November of 1970 including the two candidates for governor. It also received wide support from citizens' groups such as the League of Women Voters, the League of California Cities, the Clean Air Council, the Roadside Council, the Association of Publicly Owned Transit Systems, the Sierra Club, the Jaycees, the California Association of Life Underwriters, the California Medical Association, the Tuberculosis and Respiratory Diseases Association and from every major newspaper in the state except The Oakland Tribune. Governor Reagan even supported Proposition 18. He said that it gave the citizens of California the right to decide what kind of transportation system they wanted. The supporters of Proposition 18 spent something like $22,000 to buy radio time, billboards, and to distribute additional information backing their cause. It looked for awhile like the constitution would be amended.

The opposition was strong and well-organized. They felt that the gas tax revenues should remain devoted entirely to the freeway system in the state. Known as the "highway lobby" this coalition included the automobile clubs, several oil companies, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, the California Trucking Association, as well as several construction companies. In contrast to the supporters of the "clean air" amendment, the Highway Lobby spent over $330,000 in an effort to defeat Proposition 18. Not surprisingly, the biggest contributors were the oil companies. Four of them became very involved -- Standard Oil, Shell Oil, Texaco Oil and Union Oil. The more highways we have here, the more cars there are, and the more gas they sell. They're incredibly powerful!

Much of their money was spent on billboard space through which the highway lobby had its largest impact. Due to these expenditures and the failure of the supporters to adequately explain Proposition 18 to the voters, it was defeated on November 3, by a vote of 3 to 2.

Interviewer:

How else is the state involved in this issue?

Mary Kiley:

Well, in 1947 the state legislature created Air Pollution Control Districts (APCD) throughout the state of California. Each county was given the authority to create an agency responsible for any air pollution problem which existed within the borders of the county. The County Board of Supervisors was the body responsible for establishing this agency. They

also served as the governing board of the Air Pollution Control District. For example, in Riverside County, our supervisors also serve as the Board of the Riverside APCD and have the responsibility for running the agency.

In 1967, the Mulford-Carrell Air Resources Act created the California Air Resources Board. The act said it was necessary to provide a means for an intensive coordinated state, regional, and local effort to combat the problems of air pollution. The Board members appointed by and responsible to the governor, have the responsibility to see that all vehicles have the proper pollution control devices on them. You know, the junk that cuts down mileage. I take it off my car. Anyway, the Board serves to coordinate activity between the local APCD's and the state of California. (See text of the Mulford-Carrell Act below.)

MULFORD-CARRELL ACT
Program to Implement Air Pollution Control Plan

> On or before January 1, 1972, each county district . . . shall submit to the board a program to implement the air pollution control plan . . . within that county district. If the board finds the program will not achieve the air-quality standards established for the basin, or if no program is submitted within the time specified within this section, the board may exercise the powers of the air pollution control district . . .

Think about the questions at the beginning of the unit. Answer them again based upon the information thus far presented in this interview.

1. How might you account for the smog problem?

_____

_____

_____

2. What actions could citizens in Riverside take to combat the smog?

_____

_____

_____

3. Whose help would be crucial to obtain?

_____

_____

_____

After you have responded to these questions, read the remainder of the interview.

Interviewer:

What about the federal government? Has it become involved?

Mary Kiley:

Yes. The Clean Air Act was enacted on December 17, 1963 by the United States Congress. It had the following purposes:

(1) to protect the nation's air resources so as to promote the public health of Americans;

(2) to start a national research program for the control of air pollution;

(3) to provide technical and financial assistance to state and local governments as they develop their own air pollution control programs;

(4) to foster the development of regional air pollution control programs.

The Clean Air Act was amended in 1965, 1966 and 1967. In general, these amendments authorized the department of Health, Education and Welfare to award a variety of planning grants for creating local air pollution control programs. In 1970 and 1974 the Act was further amended. The 1970 amendment gave the Act new aspects crucial to the citizens of Riverside. While earlier versions of the Act provided federal assistance to local areas on the request of any governor, the 1970 Act placed a legal obligation on the federal government. If a state did not develop and implement an adequate plan to control air pollution within its borders, the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) became obliged to develop a plan for the state. (See text from the Clean Air Act below.) With this activity at the county, state and national levels, we people in Riverside have now begun to think we have help to fight the smog.

CLEAN AIR ACT
Section 110, Paragraph 4 (b)

> The Administrator shall, after consideration of any state (air pollution control plan) promptly prepare and publish proposed regulations setting forth an implementation plan ... for a state if:
>
> 1. The state fails to submit an implementation plan for any ... air quality ... standard ...
>
> 2. The plan ... submitted for such a state is determined by the administrator not to be in accordance with the requirements of this section, or
>
> 3. The state fails, within 60 days after notification by the administrator or such longer period as he may prescribe, to revise an implementation plan as required ...

Question:

How does the information in the interview help you answer the questions on pages 1 and 27?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

The remaining three activities focus on the citizens of Riverside and their efforts to bring clean air to their community. The information you have already studied describes the system of Riverside throughout the 1960's. The actions taken by many actors in the system after this time brought about several changes in the system. As the interview with Mary Kiley illustrates, many things occurred outside the system of Riverside which gave people new hope in combating smog. National legislation, state legislation and a variety of state agencies were established which never existed before. These actions were part of the political environment surrounding Riverside. As you will see, the political environment influenced Riverside in several ways. Before going to Activity Two, work with a partner and study the list below. It contains elements from the political system of Riverside as well as elements of the political environment of which Riverside is a part. Place an "S" beside any part of the political system and an "E" beside any part of the political environment.

Ben Lewis

Riverside County Board of Supervisors

San Bernardino

Ronald Reagan

LAAPCO

E. V. Dales

ARB

Clean Air Act

Art Pick

Riverside City Council

What is the difference between political system and political environment?

_____

_____

_____

_____

Think about the political system of your school. Write a paragraph describing the political environment in which your school exists.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

In order for change to occur in a political system, people have to be informed and excited about an issue, any issue. If a majority of students is satisfied with the political life in their school, then why should it change? If a labor union satisfies its rank and file members that it faithfully represents them, it, too, will experience little change. If, however, a group in a political system becomes dissatisfied, its response can often result in changes for the entire system.

The political environment within which Riverside existed created such a situation. The variety of anti-pollution legislation at the local, state, and national levels gave credibility to those people opposed to smog. It provided support which they needed to make smog a legitimate issue. For the first time, Riverside could now point to a Clean Air Act as they agreed that smog was indeed a serious problem. They could point to a variety of agencies throughout the state, all of which were created to fight pollution. This political environment made smog a legitimate issue in Riverside.

TOMORROW IS SATURDAY! I'M GETTING AWAY FROM THIS CONCRETE JUNGLE WITH IT'S CRAMPED QUARTERS AND IT'S ARTIFICIAL ATMOSPHERE - OUT TO THE NATURAL BEAUTY OF THE OCEAN!
NEXT DAY
DADDY, WILL YOU TURN UP THE AIR CONDITIONER?
HONK!
HONK!

Most aspects of the political environment were external to the system of Riverside. Often, however, many aspects of a political environment can exist within a political system. The following case illustrates this point. As you read it identify:

1) the political system which it focuses upon;

2) the aspects of the political environment within the system.

BIG MONEY, BIG PROBLEMS

"The centerpiece of American democracy is our process of electing men and women to public office. That process is now the subject of a spirited national debate. From the Congress, from election analysts and most importantly from the people themselves have come a steady stream of proposals. They are varied in nature but unified in purpose. All of them call for reform."

President Richard M. Nixon

"The United States has the best political system that money can buy and it is a disgrace to every principle on which our republic stands."

Senator Edward M. Kennedy

Until April 7, 1972, candidates for federal office in the United States rarely disclosed the amount of money received or spent as part of campaign for office. These contributions and expenditures were considered

confidential information. While the Corrupt Practices Act of 1925 required candidates to report the money received and spent in general elections, no such requirement existed for primary elections. Candidates who wanted to avoid disclosure of their contributions simply collected most of them before the primary election. Therefore, the law did not require them to disclose the majority of the sources of their contributions.

The rising cost of television commercials, newspaper advertisements, airplane travel and other campaign activities, dramatically increased the cost of running for public office in the United States. Today, candidates often borrow huge sums of money to pay these expenses. After the 1968 elections, the Democratic party was over five million dollars in debt from money borrowed to finance campaigns. As the costs of running for office have increased, so have the size of contributions to candidates given by some individuals and corporations. An investigation of contributions to Richard Nixon's 1972 re-election campaign revealed huge donations.

Selected Contributors to President Nixon's
1972 Re-election Campaign

W. Clement Stone	$2,000,000.
Richard M. Scaife	$1,000,000.
Walter Annenberg	$250,000.
J. Paul Getty	$75,000.
Nelson Rockefeller	$50,000.
Bob Hope	$50,000.

Even before Nixon's campaign, many Americans felt that the high cost of running for office gave a great deal of influence to individuals able to make sizeable campaign contributions. Critics charged that office holders would always feel a special obligation to those who gave generously to their election campaigns.

Donations to 1968 campaigns for federal offices, though far smaller than the 1972 contributions, occasionally exceeded $100,000. In 1970 a coalition of citizen groups and legislators pushed for legislation to limit both campaign contributions and expenditures. They argued that without such limits, a few rich individuals with the ability to make large campaign contributions could influence the actions of many office holders. This coalition wanted a law which also required candidates to report their contributions and expenditures involved in both primary and general elections. In 1970, both the Senate and the House of Representatives passed a bill limiting the amount of money candidates for national and high state offices could spend on radio and television advertisement. The bill arrived at the White House for President Nixon's signature the week of December 1. He vetoed it, claiming that the country needed a bill going beyond the control of spending for radio and television. Outraged, the Senate Democrats tried to gather support to override the President's veto. They failed.

Pressure for a campaign reform bill continued. A Gallop poll taken at the time, revealed that 8 of 10 Americans favored a bill to limit campaign spending. Throughout 1971 most Democrats and some Republicans worked in support of such legislation. They were supported by a variety of interested citizen groups including Common Cause, the National Committee for an Effective Congress, and the Public Affairs Council. On February 7, 1972 another campaign reform bill was on Nixon's desk for his signature. The President signed the Federal Election Campaign Act into law. This law required the full reporting of sources and use of all

campaign funds. It also drastically limited spending. In signing the bill the President said,

> ".....by giving the American public full access to the facts of political financing, this legislation will guard against campaign abuses and will work to build public confidence in the integrity of the electoral process."

The bill gave responsibility for monitoring campaign spending to three government agencies, the General Accounting Office, the Clerk of the House and the Clerk of the Senate. Many people, though, doubted that these three government agencies could honestly police campaign spending. So, citizen groups began their own monitoring.

The Watergate scandal demonstrated that law or no law, huge sums of money were still being contributed to political campaigns. Many corporations and individuals were fined for giving too much money to the Nixon Campaign. The Committee to Re-elect the President also came under attack for failure to disclose all sources of the contributions it received. An angry public called out for even tighter controls on campaign contribution and spending.

The Senate and the House spent much of 1974 drafting a new law for this purpose. A Senate bill called for the public financing of congressional and Presidential elections. It suggested that citizens earmark one dollar on their federal income tax form for use in national elections. Candidates for national office would obtain money from the U. S. Treasury which would collect it with income taxes. The amount of

money candidates received would depend upon the number of people they represented. Therefore, Presidential candidates had access to more money than Senatorial candidates who had access to more money than House candidates. The bill limited gifts to Presidential candidates to $1,000 or less, suggesting that their public financing plan would account for additional money needed by candidates.

The House drafted a bill with a major difference. Their bill restricted public financing of national campaigns to Presidential and Senatorial elections. Many Representatives came from small districts and represented relatively few people. They reasoned that public financing of their campaigns would not possibly allow them enough money to run an effective campaign.

In September, 1974, the Senate and the House conferred about this difference in the two bills. Knowing that the House would not pass its bill, the Senate deleted the section on public financing of House campaigns. The compromise bill passed overwhelmingly in the Senate and the House. On October 15, President Ford signed the Campaign Finances Act into law. The public financing of Presidential campaigns will begin in 1976. It restricts the size of contributions to a Presidential candidate to $1,000. It outlaws cash gifts of more than $100 and it creates a strong <u>independent</u> election commission to enforce the new law.

The Campaign Reform Act received almost no opposition. While many individuals expressed doubts about the specific law, no effective coalition formed to fight its passage. Before 1968 few Americans expressed concern

at the way in which campaigns for national office are financed. The passage of the Federal Election Campaign Act and the Campaign Reform Act illustrates the importance which many Americans now place on restricting the use of money in federal political campaigns.

1. What changes has the United States experienced according to this case?

_____

_____

_____

2. List five aspects of the political environment mentioned in this case.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

3. How does political environment affect change?

_____

_____

_____

ACTIVITY TWO: CLEAN AIR NOW

LEARN HOW YOU CAN FIGHT SMOG

Join CLEAN AIR NOW (C.A.N.)

(A Citizen Group to Fight Air Pollution)

[ ] Please Send Me Information on C.A.N.

[ ] I want to Join and Support C.A.N.

STUDENT ( ) $2.00 GENERAL ( ) $5.00 SUSTAINING ( ) $50.00

SPONSOR ( ) $250.00 DONATION ( ) _____

CLEAN AIR NOW

P.O. Box 5682, Riverside, California 92507
P.O. Box 5811, San Bernardino, California 92408

LAST NAME ..... FIRST ..... TEL .....

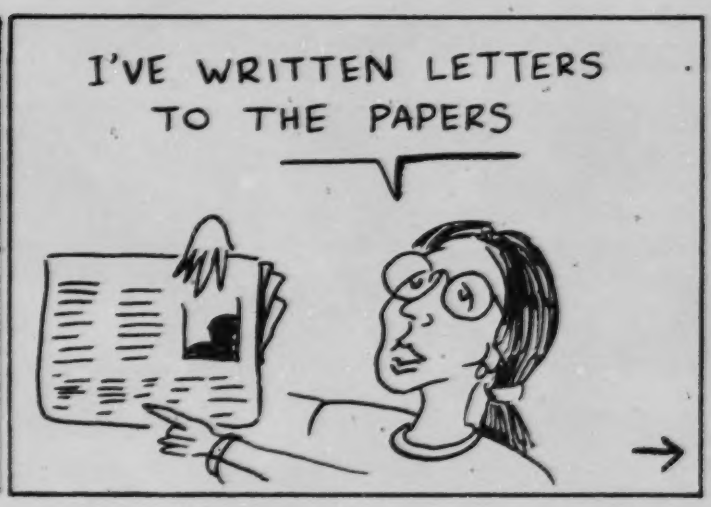
STREET ..... CITY ..... ZIP .....

(reprinted from CAN Clean Air News, by permission)

The political environment had made smog* a legitimate issue in Riverside. But the air kept getting worse. If anything was going to improve the air, the system itself needed to change. People needed information about how smog might restrict their daily activity, how it might affect the operation of businesses and how it could affect the scheduling of sporting events. If people in Riverside could be educated about air pollution, they might become concerned. But concern would not clean up the air. In addition to education about the issue of air

*Smog is produced by a chemical reaction when hydrocarbons (gasoline vapors) and oxides of nitrogen (which are present in the air), are mixed in the presence of sunlight, producing a group of compounds called oxidants.

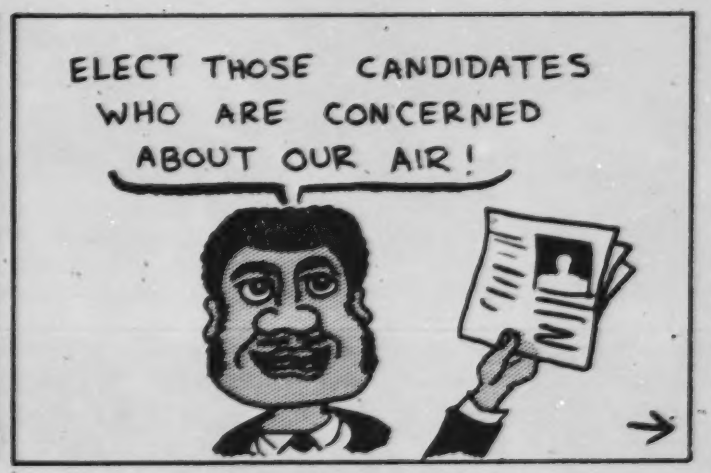
CITIZENS DO CARE ABOUT THE AIR IN RIVERSIDE


I'VE WRITTEN LETTERS TO THE PAPERS

WHEN I'M NOT GOING FAR... I WALK!

WE'VE DONATED LOTS OF MONEY TO VARIOUS ENVIRONMENTAL GROUPS.

WE SHOULD BOYCOTT THOSE COMPANIES WHO DIRTY OUR AIR!


ELECT THOSE CANDIDATES WHO ARE CONCERNED ABOUT OUR AIR!

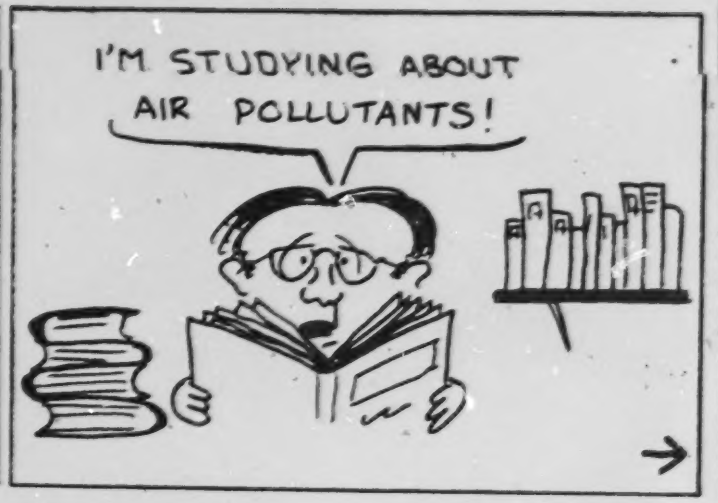
pollution, people needed to know how they could participate to help stamp out smog. People who were frustrated and upset about the presence of filthy air in their community needed to organize. If they had an organization through which to work, they might more effectively express their views.

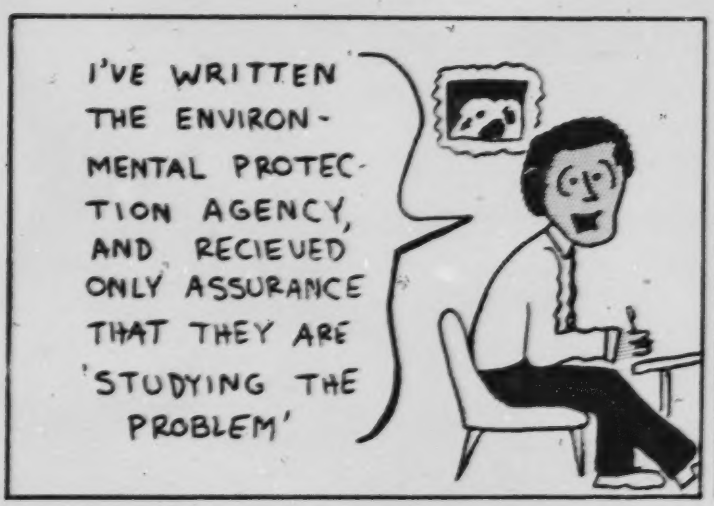
This activity focuses on the concept of political mobilization and how it affects change. Mobilization is the process by which people are organized to work toward a common goal. Mobilization usually involves a group or an organization formed by strong leaders who have a variety of political resources. Once formed, such a group attracts new members who, in turn, make the group more effective. The activity contains data about mobilization in Riverside. It describes the formation of a group to fight smog. Also, it suggests how well the group succeeded in solidifying support for the cause of clean air.

Throughout the 1960's, neither the city nor the state took decisive action to control smog. Yet, devices designed to measure the amount of smog in the air revealed that smog became more and more harmful each year. Once smog affected Riverside for only two months out of the year. By 1968, however, smog could be seen and felt in Riverside throughout the entire summer, a period of four months!

The summer months were particularly affected because of the frequent inversion layers which settled over the city. An inversion layer is a blanket of warm air settling low over the city preventing the cooler,

I'VE TAKEN UP BIKE RIDING AGAIN!


I'M STUDYING ABOUT AIR POLLUTANTS!


I'VE WRITTEN THE ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY, AND RECIEVED ONLY ASSURANCE THAT THEY ARE 'STUDYING THE PROBLEM'

BUS STOP
I BELIEVE IT WOULD HELP IF MORE PEOPLE SIMPLY TOOK THE BUS!

WE'VE CUT OUR GASOLINE CONSUMPTION NEARLY IN HALF

I'VE TAKEN SOME PHOTOS TO SHOW MY FRIENDS!

more polluted air from rising upward. Usually the pollution produced by cars and stationary sources, such as industry, gets absorbed into the environment. It becomes diluted by rising upward or by occasional wind and rain. The high pressure systems and easterly breezes accompanying the summer months often create inversion layers which, combined with the mountains rimming Riverside, prevent the escape of the smog. At times such as these, pollutants reach critical levels.

By 1970, the California Department of Agriculture estimated that smog caused as much as $20 million dollars a year in citrus losses in the South Coast Air Basin. In 1968, state-wide crop losses due to smog were estimated at $248 million dollars. Smog became associated with damage to spinach, lettuce, flowers, carrots, beets, tomatoes and beans. In addition to its effect on plants, smog caused the tarnishing of metal, the discoloration of stone and brick, the fading of dyes and the deterioration of rubber goods.

The University of California at Riverside, as well as other groups, began widespread research on the effects of smog on humans. They pointed out the difficulty of breathing associated with smog and the resultant increased possibility of contracting respiratory disease. Many people reported that smog caused tears to form in their eyes and also caused serious headaches.

Concerned about their city, individual citizens began to meet to share their concerns over its future. Most of the individuals who took part in these meetings were influential members of the community. The

WE'RE USING A CAR POOL!!

I'VE CALLED THE A.P.C.D. AT LEAST FIFTY TIMES!

I THINK WE SHOULD DEVOTE MORE ENERGY TOWARD DEVELOPING A POLLUTION-FREE CAR!

I'VE BEEN ATTENDING CITY COUNCIL MEETINGS TO HEAR FOR MYSELF WHAT'S BEING DONE!

I WAS SO CONCERNED ABOUT THE SMOG IN RIVERSIDE THAT I TOOK ACTION! I MOVED!

I'VE COME TO THE CAPITOL TO TRY AND MAKE MYSELF HEARD.

groups included lawyers, doctors, bankers, research scientists and others. On July 29, 1969, 25 of these citizens organized as a corporation under California law. As its primary purpose, the group wished to eliminate smog by any and all legal means. Calling itself Clean Air Now, the group served the citizens of Riverside and San Bernardino counties. Don L. Bauer was elected the first president of CAN at an official board meeting on Wednesday, October 29, 1969.

CAN immediately set out to inform the citizens of San Bernardino and Riverside about the problem of smog in the area. Though the group was young, its members were all experienced community leaders and they possessed a variety of political resources.

CAN established a nine person Board of Directors for the organization. Each year the members elect three new board members to replace three retiring members. The new board then elects the officers. In addition to the Board of Directors and the officers, CAN also established thirteen standing committees to help with the day-to-day business. The thirteen committees focused on the following areas.

1. Medical
2. Ecological
3. Technical
4. Legal
5. Community Relations
6. Industrial Relations
7. Government Relations

ALL OF THOSE ACTIVITIES ARE FINE! BUT COULDN'T WE DO MORE GOOD IF WE ORGANIZED A CITIZEN'S ANTI-SMOG GROUP?
YEAH! TO SHOW HOW WE FEEL!

REMEMBER — THERE IS STRENGTH IN NUMBERS!!!

8. Finance
9. Membership
10. Public Relations
11. Speaker's Bureau
12. Newsletter Editor
13. Organization Coordinator

What activities could CAN provide which would focus attention on the issue of smog in Riverside?

Your teacher will now divide you into small groups. Each group will receive a data packet. It contains: (1) several role profiles of the founders and leaders of CAN; (2) three of the first newsletters printed by the organization; (3) a diary entry by the President of CAN; (4) a newspaper article and letter to the editor from the Riverside Press-Enterprise describing the activities of CAN. The material in the data packets is reprinted in the text on pages 48 through 68 . Study this information carefully. After you have finished with the material, each member of the group should fill out an individual worksheet.

High School Students in Riverside Protest Smog

(Reprinted by permission of Riverside Press-Enterprise)

1. FOUNDERS AND LEADERS OF CAN

Don Bauer -- First CAN President

Don was elected first president of Clean Air Now on October 29, 1969. At that time, Don was serving as Dean of Students at a local university. He had become quite knowledgeable about the subject of smog through an intensive study of the subject.

He is a seventh-day Adventist minister who works mostly with young adults. He is a highly respected member of Riverside.

Don Zimmer -- First CAN Vice-President

Don Zimmer was elected first Vice-President of CAN on October 29, 1969. Don is an attorney working with a Riverside, California law firm. He is identified with many civic groups in Riverside, among them the Uptown Kiwanis Club.

Don was instrumental in the formation of CAN and is a member of CAN's Board of Directors. He also serves as legal consultant to CAN. His knowledge of the law is helpful in determining how state and federal legislation might affect Riverside.

John A. Palladino -- First Chairman Government Relations Committee

John A. Palladino is an attorney who has practiced in Riverside for over 15 years. After working for the Riverside County Public Defender's Office for three years, John resigned to become involved in private law practice. He has a special interest in zoning and planning and has organized citizen groups to fight zoning plans contrary to good zoning practice.

John has worked closely with CAN since its founding. He has been a member, a Director, and Chairman of the Government Relations Committee. He has been active in a variety of civic organizations including the City of Riverside General Plan, the Citizens Committee on Parks and Recreation, the Riverside Civic League and the Planning and Conservation League. He also has been a past chairman of the Riverside Chapter of the Sierra Club.

David D. Loge -- Press Relations Director
Board of Directors

In March 1970, David became Press Relations Director for CAN. Shortly after that he was elected to CAN's Board of Directors. During this time, David was a business analyst in the administrative offices of San Bernardino County. David served as Press Relations Director for his local church and was an active member of the Chamber of Commerce in Loma Linda, a community near Riverside.

Sharon Cordaro -- Recording Secretary/Current President

Sharon has been CAN's Recording Secretary since 1970 and is its current President. Sharon is a teacher concerned about the effect of smog in Riverside upon her two children. "I decided I just couldn't live in this area and not try to do something about our worst problem, air pollution. CAN was formed because people were becoming more conscious of the air pollution problem in this area."

Ann M. Hussey -- Secretary

Ann served as the first secretary of CAN. Although she moved to Riverside in 1968, she quickly became involved in the community. As a nurse, the health aspects of pollution have been a special concern to Ann.

Like many other CAN members, Ann has been very much involved in other community organizations. She has served on the Board of the Women's Auxiliary of the Riverside Medical Association and Chairperson of the Environment Committee. Ann has also been active in the Comprehensive Health Planning Association of Riverside County and she has served as a school observer for the Riverside League of Women Voters.

Lynn McQuern - Member Board of Directors -- 1971-2

Lynn was elected to the Board of Directors in the fall of 1971. Lynn has served as a co-editor of the Clean Air News, CAN's newsletter. He is an active newspaperman and a member of several environmental organizations.

Joe Doty -- Member Board of Directors 1971-2/Past President

Joe was elected to CAN's Board of Directors in the fall of 1972. At the time, Joe was studying political science at the University of California in Riverside. Joe made an effort to learn as much as he could about government control of air pollution. He was a member of a local air pollution association.

Most importantly, Joe worked to find out as much as he could about the Los Angeles Air Pollution Control District. He recently completed a report on the activities of the Los Angeles Air Pollution Control District.

These people are just a few of many associated with CAN. However, they do represent the political resources which most members brought to the group.

2. From CAN Clean Air News Volume 1, Issue No. 1, November 1969
(Reprinted by Permission)

CAN GETS CALIFORNIA TAX EXEMPTION

Organizational steps have been completed for Clean Air Now (CAN), and it is established as a California nonprofit corporation.

CAN's Articles of Incorporation have been filed with state and local offices, bylaws have been adopted and the first officers of the corporation elected.

Donald L. Bauer, of Loma Linda, was elected President of the Board; Donald F. Zimmer, Riverside, Vice-President; Anne Hussey, Riverside, Secretary; and Kenneth E. Gray, Jr., San Bernardino, Treasurer.

California Franchise Tax Board has granted CAN's application for tax exempt status as a charitable and educational organization.

Under this status, money donated to CAN is deductable from California State Income Tax. Legal offices are now taking steps to obtain Federal tax exempt status for the corporation.

Plans are already being formulated to develop chapters of CAN in other areas of the two-county area and other parts of the state.

Professional assistance is being used to set up these chapters, so that CAN may be able to accomplish its objectives in orderly, legal and effective steps.

CAN WILL REVIEW SMOG LAWMAKING DURING 1970

Government officials have been contacted to inform them of CAN activities and requesting full information on all smog-control activities and pertinent legislation.

The legislators are being advised that the CAN membership and the many thousands of members of affiliated organizations, will be watching their progress very closely in 1970.

To assess legislators as individuals, a questionnaire is being submitted to state senators and assemblymen. Results of this survey, as well as summaries of information obtained by the Government Relations Committee, will be published in this newsletter.

Through furnishing comprehensive information, we hope to provide a source of knowledge and a means of coordinating the efforts of countless thousands of individuals in California, who, acting alone, have been unable to bring about a legislative climate that is necessary to solve air pollution.

For example, if a constructive bill is pending in the State Legislature, the membership will be made aware of this.

State Senator Petris stated in Riverside, October 22, that he would re-introduce his bill to ban the internal combustion engine by 1975 which lost by only one vote in the Assembly Committee last year. Senator Petris' bill will be an improved version of the last one, and assemblymen who were influenced by the auto manufacturers' lobbyists, may be persuaded by their constituents to support the new bill.

TAKE ACTION FOR MORE MEMBERSHIP

Memberships in CAN are increasing rapidly but many more are needed if we are to effectively lick the problem of pollution which confronts us all.

Membership committee through Anne Hussey asks all of you who are already members to get at least five friends or neighbors to join the organization. We need the support of everyone in this, as there are no better salesmen than those of you who have already become involved.

You have been called upon in the past to help with the petition drive and other projects and have worked splendidly on every request. Please do so once again.

Make sure the new members mention your name so that you can be credited accordingly.

For information on membership, or requests for membership blanks, call 682-6424 or 683-4807 in Riverside or 877-1961 in San Bernardino.

SOMEONE OUGHT TO CONSOLIDATE ALL AIR POLLUTION GROUPS

The anti-air-pollution fight by the people of California is not well organized.

This is evidenced by the following:

Clean Air Coordinating Committee of Livermore is circulating a petition.

Committee for Clean Air Now, Palo Alto, is "alerting citizens."

Northern California Committee for Environmental Information, Berkeley, has recently published a report on San Francisco Bay Area air pollution.

Citizens Against Air Pollution, San Jose, is circulating the Clean Environment Act Petition.

Ecology Action sponsored the Berkeley "smog free locomotion day" September 27.

People's Lobby, Hollywood, is near the end of its initiative petition drive to put tighter pollution controls on the ballot.

Clean Air Council, Hollywood, is promoting an economic boycott of General Motors.

Stamp Out Smog (SOS) in Beverly Hills, Group Against Smog Pollution (GASP), Claremont, and numerous other groups being organized by concerned people throughout the state, are supporting the People's Lobby initiative petition and the Clean Air Council's boycott.

Clean Air Now (CAN) Riverside-San Bernardino, has completed a mile-and-one-half long petition of 125,000 signatures, requesting the legislators to give number one priority to smog in the coming legislative session.

Citizens of Ventura were recently instrumental, as have been the citizens of the Barstow area, in putting road blocks in the path of new or expanded power plants which are polluting the air.

When one group of citizens, or its organization ties all this protest into one coordinated group, then effective laws and enforcement would more rapidly eliminate air pollution.

From CAN Clean Air News Volume 1, Issue No. 2, March 1970
(Reprinted by Permission)

PETITIONS FOR "CLEAN AIR NOW" PRESENTED TO CALIFORNIA LEGISLATURE

The hard work of hundreds of petition carrying advocates of Clean Air Now came to a dramatic conclusion on the steps of California's State

Capitol on January 7, 1970 when "Petitions for Clean Air Now" a mile and one-half in length containing 140,000 signatures were presented to the California State Legislature. Don Bauer, President of CAN, made the formal presentation in the presence of a large gathering of state officials and elected representatives. The scroll was accepted by Lieutenant Governor Ed Reinecke, on behalf of the Governor and the Legislature. In accepting the petitions, Reinecke promised that they "would be considered very, very carefully," and pledged decisive action toward the immediate abatement of air pollution.

The text of the petitions read as follows:

"We the undersigned citizens of the State of California, declare as follows:

The pollution of our air continues year after year with no signs that smog control programs are clearing the air. In view of the inadequacy of present laws to provide an immediate solution to the smog problem, we petition our Legislators to pledge that the abatement of air pollution in California shall be given an absolute first priority in legislative programs and that number one priority be maintained until solutions are found that bring results. We want nothing less than Clean Air Now!"

Thousands of these documents, bearing the signatures of Riverside - Redlands - San Bernardino area residents, were fastened together end-to-end and coiled upon a large scroll which was partially unrolled down the steps of the Capitol and across the lawn, graphically illustrating the number of persons involved in this expression of concern for our environment. The presentation ceremony received wide news coverage at local, state and national levels, including radio and television reporting.

The petition drive was co-sponsored by Clean Air Now and San Bernardino Radio Station KRNO. The drive was commenced in San Bernardino, California on September 6, 1969 at an anti-smog rally attended by local, state and national political figures and thousands of concerned citizens. The initial goal for the drive was "a mile of signatures" which, it was computed, would require 90,000 signatories. In just two months, 140,000 signatures were obtained, largely from the cities of Riverside, Redlands and San Bernardino alone, and the petition exceeded a mile and one-half in length at the time of its presentation.

The circulations of these petitions and their formal presentation in Sacramento at the opening of the Legislative Session were designed to underscore the critical importance of the air pollution problem and to request immediate corrective action from our legislature. There is no question but that the drive has helped to alert the public to the problem. The ultimate success of this effort, however, must be measured in the results which flow from this new public awareness. CAN's committees are now reviewing the host of anti-pollution legislation which has been introduced since the opening of the current session. In keeping with its primary purpose of public education on the smog problem, CAN will periodically inform the public as to the content of these proposals so that the public may weigh their suitability to the task at hand.

Accompanying the petitions to Sacramento for the formal presentation were CAN Board members: Don Bauer; Donald F. Zimmer, Vice-President and Chairman of the Presentation Arrangements Committee; George Burton, M.D.; and Jon Menand. Radio Station KRNO was represented at the presentation

by its Vice-President and General Manager, H. George Carroll. Complimentary transportation was provided to and from Sacramento by Pacific Southwest Air Lines.

Clean Air Now extends its sincere thanks to all who worked so diligently in circulating these petitions. That effort made the presentation possible. Special thanks are also extended to Assemblyman W. Craig Biddle and his staff for their assistance in the presentation arrangements and to Senators William Coombs and Gordon Cologne, and Assemblymen Jerry Lewis, John Quimby and Victor Veysey, for their assistance and support. A vote of thanks also goes to Radio Station KRNO for their cooperation and hard work in this effort.

FACT SHEETS

One of CAN's most effective tools in the fight of air pollution is an informed membership.

Many months ago, recognizing this need and the fact that much misinformation existed regarding air pollution, CAN's Board of Directors took an important action -- they directed the Chairmen of CAN's several research committees to develop "FACT SHEETS" for distribution to the membership and other interested persons.

References for pertinent source material are made to each air pollution fact listed. The fact sheets are updated at six-month intervals.

Now available for the asking are the following fact sheets:

Effects on Plant Life

Effects on Animal Life

Effects on Human Health

The response to these information-laden sheets has been encouraging; public schools, civic groups and many individuals have requested copies and are "doing their bit" to spread the bad (good?) news about air pollution.

CAN YOU USE A SPEAKER FOR CAN?

As one of the main purposes of Clean Air Now is to educate and arouse the public about air pollution, the Speaker's Bureau fulfills a vital function. The Bureau is made up of members of the Board of Directors and other volunteers including: Dr. Max Flickinger, a minister; Mr. Don Blose, a member of Toastmasters; Mrs. Ruth Bratten; and Mr. William C. Kennedy. These people have donated their time to disseminate information to the public.

Speakers have addressed diverse groups including P.T.A. organizations, service clubs, civic clubs, conservationists, youth and church groups.

With the emphasis of President Nixon's State of the Union address bringing environmental control to the fore, many politicians are following suit. There is the danger that the general population may feel that everything is being taken care of. We need to keep the issue alive until the goal of clean air is achieved.

If you have contact with any group which could make use of our Speaker's Bureau, please contact Mrs. Virginia Broach, 686-0243.

From CAN Clean Air News Volume 1, Issue No. 3, April 1970
(Reprinted by Permission)

ANTI-POLLUTION COALITION

At a meeting in Los Angeles on March 21, 1970, anti-smog organizations from all over the State of California met to plan the first state-wide coordinated effort by citizens' organizations to deal with the smog crisis. John A. Palladino, representing "CLEAN AIR NOW," was Master of Ceremonies and made the keynote speech for unity and cooperation outlining a plan of organization. Phillip Berry, President of the Sierra Club, gave the welcoming speech and introduced John Zierold, Conservation Lobbyist, who told the audience how essential their participation was in the legislative process if effective smog-control legislation is desired. He pointed out that legislators are influenced, wined, and dined all year long by professionally trained personnel with large funds at their disposal and that frequently the most well-meaning legislator will hear only one voice on an issue throughout the year because his constituents fail to make their views known.

The meeting then divided into study groups concerning various types of smog legislation and reports were made at the end of the day. It was unanimously agreed by the more than one hundred participants that coalition efforts should continue and tentative plans are being made to establish a coalition office in Sacramento as well as improved methods of communication between the various groups.

THE BIRTH OF THE ECONOMIC BOYCOTT!!

"Many people ... have bemoaned the futility of attempting to force industries in the United States of America into programs of benefit to the general public if these programs involve the possibility of the industries making less profit. It is obvious, however, that the general public has an extremely potent weapon at its disposal if the industry manufactures products which are used by the general public. This is, of course, the economic boycott."

"This kind of campaign should be very successful because it is only necessary to convince one potential buyer out of three in order to levy a one-billion dollar loss upon the ... industry. In addition, it does not require extreme sacrifices on the part of a consumer." (Page 28, Environment, Volume 12, No. 2.)

TOO DANGEROUS TO WAIT!

Consumers should demand cleaner fuels and smogless automobiles or the manufacturer will be threatened with an economic boycott by the general public. Adopting this method of action, one member of CAN, a regular customer of Standard Oil Company for more than eleven years, sent in his credit card cancelling his account with a letter explaining that this was done because of the actions of Standard Oil Company with regard to unleaded gasoline and the F-310 advertising campaign. This letter of cancellation was sent to as many company executives as could be located. At the same time, the member wrote to other oil companies

for a new credit card, advising them that this was being done because they publicly committed themselves to the early use of unleaded gasoline at little or no increase in cost to the consumer.

CITIZENS MUST EXPRESS THEIR VIEWS .....

An editorial in the Riverside Press reported that Kaiser Steel "by virtue of its sheer size, is one of the largest industrial contributors to the area's smog, gushing forth smoke and flames on certain days that light up the sky northwest of Riverside and the plan is now meant to get even bigger."

Citizens should immediately question the San Bernardino County Supervisors with regard to whether or not this is advisable or desirable, in view of the fact that Kaiser Steel already has several waivers of standard control regulations -- in effect -- "permission to pollute."

At the same time, since San Bernardino County Supervisors have also opposed the use of gas tax funds for smog control the San Bernardino Supervisors should be advised of views on that subject.

ONE LETTER IS EQUAL TO TEN THOUSAND WORDS ...

When you hesitate about writing or phoning your elected representatives, keep in mind that legislators frequently invite and welcome informed, reasoned and brief letters on any issue of concern to a citizen. This is frequently their only means of sensing the mood of the public. For each letter received, the legislator knows that there are 10,000 or more expressing the same viewpoint that were never written,

because too many citizens are too lazy or apathetic to lift a pen, even when their life depends on it ... but that they do act when in the ballot box.

Emotional and insulting letters are to be avoided. To be truly effective, you must convince your representative that you are requesting him to take a position on a specific issue and not uttering a complaint just to get rid of some anger. You can become informed by active participation in all CAN activities, reading the newsletter, speaking to your friends, and encouraging your friends to join "CLEAN AIR NOW." Other organizations of which you may be a member should also be encouraged to publish, in their own newsletters, pertinent information obtained from "CLEAN AIR NEWS." This is how you can firmly demand your rights as a citizen and voter in an effective manner.

3. Statement by Sharon Cordaro, Current President of CAN

"CAN was formed at the end of 1969 because people were becoming more conscious of the air pollution problem in this area. Everyone always knew that Los Angeles had a problem with air pollution, but it wasn't as well known here until we got monitoring stations. People began to be informed that we really had one. There's a station in Riverside. In fact, we have two in Riverside and one in Palm Springs and one in the Perris area, one in Corona, one in San Bernardino, quite a few.

"We had public meetings. One of the first things they did -- I believe they had 140,000 names on a big petition and Don Bauer, who was President, took this petition to Sacramento. There was a big ceremony on the Capitol steps presenting the petition to the Lieutenant Governor. The petition says something like, "we believe that we have the right to clean air and we want something done about it legislatively." So, that was one that got a lot of publicity in the paper, of course. We put out newsletters periodically and then about three years later a slide show was developed. There were several copies of that which we still use. This has been given to thousands of people, all kinds of groups, church groups, Kiwanis, service clubs, and schools. We called the Speaker's Bureau and had publicity and then the word just spreads around. We also have pamphlets and things that we give out.

"Because we are a volunteer group, we had some problems. When you're depending on volunteers to staff it and to do all the nitty gritty work that has to be done to help it survive, it's tough to get started. I think

publicity is one of the main things -- getting articles in the paper about what you are doing and then the newsletter. We have a membership campaign on right now because we have had a membership not as large in the last couple of years. As it was in the earlier days, this is partly because some of our officers were pursuing legal matters and were not as active in the local area. They were prosecuting the Los Angeles Air Pollution Control District, so that reduced the number of people able to do things locally, and our local membership did drop. Now, we're basically in San Bernardino and Riverside counties, but we have members from as far away as Palm Springs and a number of towns within 15 miles.

"We send out renewal letters to the members each year. Now we are revising our membership files. I have a very good membership chairman who is going to send a renewal letter to people at the time that their dues are coming up.

"When the Clean Air amendments passed in 1970, states were supposed to make a plan as to how they could meet these standards, and if they did not make a plan, then the EPA was supposed to impose a plan. California did not come up with one. The EPA set forth this one that included gasoline rationing among other options -- and charging a person five dollars a day to park at their office building. Anyway, then they had to come around and have hearings on this plan, public hearings to see how the people reacted to this plan. Of course, the reaction was very adverse, because there were very radical things in there.

"I went to the hearings here in Riverside, and CAN made a statement. Also, I made a personal statement at that meeting and many organizations did. CAN's position at that time was that we would accept gas rationing, and our members would, if that's what we needed to clean up the air. We felt that that was the most important thing. If people had to ration gas, they would be able to work it out. After all of this happened, though, you get to wonder whether it was really valid, this whole business of hearings. Now you see the EPA has recommended that Congress amend the '77 standards, which is something we're very upset about."

4. Article and Letter from the Riverside Press-Enterprise

Anti-pollution Group Plans Effort
to Publicize Smog Control Bills
From Riverside Press-Enterprise, December 23, 1971
(Reprinted by Permission)

A drive to disseminate information on smog control legislation will be launched early next year by Clean Air Now (CAN), the anti-pollution group of about 700 citizens in the Riverside-San Bernardino area.

William Wybourn, CAN president, said efforts are now under way to get at least $10,000 in federal money for an educational center to gather and distribute information.

"Air pollution is not an insurmountable problem, but it will not be solved by waiting for the other guy to do something about it," said Wybourn. "We want to be in a position to show interested people how they can help solve the problem."

Even though CAN's function over the past two years has been primarily educational -- its newsletter goes to more than 2,000 persons throughout the state and country -- the new program will be "an even more aggressive effort directed toward adults in an attempt to get more action that will be felt in elections," said Wybourn.

To help get some federal money, CAN is seeking someone experienced in writing proposals for government funds to help in an unpaid volunteer status.

Requests for the $10,000 regarded as necessary to open the educational center will be sent to the Environmental Protection Agency and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Wybourn said.

If one agency agrees to provide the money, the second request will be withdrawn, he explained.

Deadline for submitting the request to the environmental agency is Jan. 15. "I don't think it will take too long for us to know the answer after that," said Wybourn. "If they agree to fund us, we will probably get the money by March."

He did not know the timetable for a possible federal grant, but said a request also would be sent in as soon as possible.

Wybourn said the expanded political role of CAN doesn't mean it will take partisan stands on issues or politicians.

"We will come up with the facts and be as research minded as possible. We will not be supporting or opposing individuals. We plan now to put out the facts and let people make up their own minds."

Wybourn is confident this will help in the air pollution struggle.

"If the public knows what to do, why, when and how to do it, we believe that public apathy will become a thing of the past. And apathy is the biggest hurdle to be overcome in the battle to clean up our air."

From Press-Enterprise, Saturday, August 23, 1969
(Reprinted by Permission)

Editor, Press-Enterprise:

I would like to express my appreciation for your fine work in bringing to light our No. 1 problem -- air pollution -- through the recent excellent articles published in your paper.

Perhaps this is one reason for the record attendance -- standing room only -- at the CAN meeting (Clean Air Now) which was held Aug. 12 at the Southern Calif. Gas Co.

With great interest, I watched the development and progress at this meeting as compared to some meetings about six months ago. It seems that the citizenry of this Inland Area is really aroused to do something about it. They really did start, with determination, to act upon this No. 1 problem. We should all attend these meetings and "Hark, Hark" to what is being done here and get behind this CAN organization to help solve this smog problem. If we do this and acquaint ourselves with some of the work that is already started, we will learn that people are not "just talking" ...

Estelle Russ
Riverside

Worksheet for Clean Air Now Data Packet

1. How many members belong to CAN?

_____

2. What goals guide the activities of the organization?

_____

_____

_____

3. What political resources do the founders and leaders have?

Name	Resources
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

4. Give three examples of the methods used by CAN to support the fight for clean air?

_____

_____

_____

5. Would you join a group led by these people? Why or why not?

_____

_____

_____

6. How successful do you think CAN will be? _____

Why? _____

_____

_____

7. What relationship exists between the successful organization of a group and political resources of the group's leaders?

_____

_____

_____

CAN and other agencies succeeded in mobilizing many citizens of Riverside to fight for clean air. Due to the ability of their leaders, CAN mounted a successful campaign to increase its membership. What began as a small meeting of 26 people on an evening in the fall of 1969 had grown to an organization of well over 1,000 members by 1972. It constantly sent out information about the effects of smog and encouraged citizens to become active. CAN stood for more than just fighting smog. It represented an organization through which people could become more actively involved in the political life of Riverside.

Perhaps the most significant change which CAN promoted in Riverside involved its leaders. Throughout the late '60's and the early '70's, the city government showed few signs of joining the fight against smog. Yet, as pressure increased upon them, members of city council began to talk about the problem and to consider what to do. According to Sharon Cordaro, current President of CAN, the city pressured by CAN took action. Her comments follow.

"CAN has accomplished a great deal. We now have a number you can call and get the oxidant reading. The idea was that when we have a natural disaster like a tornado, there are federal funds that are released to help the area or there are state funds. We considered this smog serious enough that it should be called a disaster area, and we should be getting some kind of funding help some place, either to set up for mass transit or something that would help this problem. So CAN got this whole thing going. The disaster preparedness official from the city prepared this long report. In it are a city council resolution, emergency plan, statistics and legal and medical report and economic report, because, of course, smog does a tremendous amount of damage to crops and to materials like paint on houses and it's rough on tires and so forth, and a lot of people don't realize this. They have to pay a little more in taxes and a little more for something, and yet they don't realize that they're losing money and paying more in other ways. So, anyway, this whole report was prepared and taken by the mayor of Riverside up to Sacramento and presented to the Governor and others. CAN was kind of the instigator of that." (See Mayor Lewis' letter below.)

CITY OF Riverside CALIFORNIA 92501 • 714/787-7551

BEN H. LEWIS
Mayor

June 1, 1972

The Honorable Governor Ronald Reagan
Executive Offices
State Capitol Building
Sacramento, California

A disaster is imminent, Governor Reagan,

in the South Coast Air Basin which includes Riverside. Although there may have been some improvements, it is obvious, based on current projections, that immediate drastic measures must be taken.

I have been directed by Resolution of our City Council to request that you use the extraordinary emergency powers granted you by the California Emergency Services Act to mandate immediate conversion of vehicles registered in the South Coast Air Basin to gaseous fuels.

The summer months are approaching. Evidence as outlined in the report accompanying this letter and Resolution, is that *air pollution is putting the citizens of this basin in a position of extreme peril and/or disaster.* With the assistance of several eminently qualified local citizens, we have prepared the attached report, which is fully documented and contains a suggested emergency plan.

This problem is so serious that I am requesting all local governments in the South Coast Air Basin to support us in this emergency.

I invite your immediate and careful consideration of this emergency request and our proposal as to the solution to this perilous situation.

Sincerely,

Ben H. Lewis
Mayor

Enclosures

The Mayor was not entirely satisfied with the treatment he received from the governor:

"Yes, we had some representatives of CAN go to Sacramento with us. It was difficult for me to get the governor, at that time Reagan, to show any concern. I had written him a letter in October, and I hadn't received an answer to it in February. I called his office, and in a few weeks I did get a letter. We made an appointment and he gave us 20 minutes. Well, that's a long way to go to make a big presentation like this, but he did show some interest and finally gave us an hour and a half. We almost missed the plane coming back, but he was unwilling to disrupt the oil companies and automobile manufacturers.

They seem to have priority on our lives. This is the part that irritates me the most and I'll repeat it again, the automobile industry does have the solution. I've had all kinds of them presented to me. I'm not an engineer, but I've always called on somebody who I thought was an expert who could assist me. But these people that I talk to tell me that they can't even get in the front door at General Motors and the other automobile manufacturers."

Mobilization and Change

Mobilization involves both the formation of a group and also the ways in which the group solidifies support for an issue. Think about the formation of Clean Air Now and the ways it solidified support for clean air.

What political resources did the founders and leaders of CAN have?

What common goals guided the organization?

How did CAN maintain and increase its membership?

Mobilization can contribute to change in a political system. Depending on the specific situation, mobilization can affect patterns of political resources and/or patterns of political activities. You have read about Riverside in the 1960's. You have also studied information about the activities of CAN and its effect on the system of Riverside. Based upon changes caused by mobilization in the system, answer the following questions. Place a check in the appropriate box and explain your answer.

Ideology

☐ Change ☐ No Change

Explain: _____

_____

Influence

☐ Change ☐ No Change

Explain: _____

_____

Wealth

☐ Change ☐ No Change

Explain: _____

_____

Participation

▱ Change ▱ No Change

Explain: _____

_____

Communication

▱ Change ▱ No Change

Explain: _____

_____

Decision-Making

▱ Change ▱ No Change

Explain: _____

_____

Leadership

▱ Change ▱ No Change

Explain: _____

_____

Why were some patterns affected and not others?

_____

_____

_____

_____

WHAT WOULD YOU DO?

Various options for fighting air-pollution existed in Riverside. Some people joined CAN. Others bought filters for their air-conditioners to clean the air as it entered their homes. Still others did nothing. Think about the ways that smog affected the lives of people living in Riverside.

Below you will find statements made by five different people who are discussing ways to become involved in the pollution issue. Each person proposes a different way to fight smog. Read each one carefully and answer the questions which follow the statements.

George:

The city is doing O.K. as far as I'm concerned. They get paid to watch out for the interest of the people who live in Riverside. I work as closely as I can with the city government. I watch the papers closely and if the Mayor or the city council say we should take it easy because of the smog, or say we shouldn't drive as much, I listen.

Mary:

I think we need to do more than just listen to our city officials. I don't think they have done much to help us out. Many people in Riverside are fed up with the lack of action on this thing. We had smog ten years ago, and we have it today. We can't sit here for another ten years or it'll kill us! It's time we formed an organization whose sole purpose is to rid this area of smog. I don't think I could lead such a group, but I think that's what we need.

Joe:

You're right, Mary. But I don't think forming a group is enough. We need to get some attention here; let people know how bad things are. To do this, I propose that we organize a one-week strike of all workers in the area. We could bring the city to a halt. We'd have national news coverage to show people what smog looks like and what we are doing about it.

I suggest that I contact Bill Martin in the Mayor's office. With his influence down there, he can help to organize the city workers. Mary, you can get in touch with civic clubs like Kiwanas, Lions, and the League of Women Voters. I'll get with the Parks and Recreation people to arrange a place for a huge demonstration.

Vivian:

Hold on, Joe, I think we need to take action, too. Mary is talking about forming a citizen's group and you're talking about shutting the city down. We're all concerned, but you may alienate a lot of people with your plan. Couldn't you include aspects of your plan in Mary's? After all, if a citizen's group isn't successful, we have an organization through which to mobilize people for a demonstration.

Mark:

You've all got good ideas. For myself, I'd prefer to let the situation develop. I need to watch what's happening before I can make an intelligent decision about what to do.

QUESTIONS

1. If you were in Riverside, whose point of view would you agree with?

_____

_____

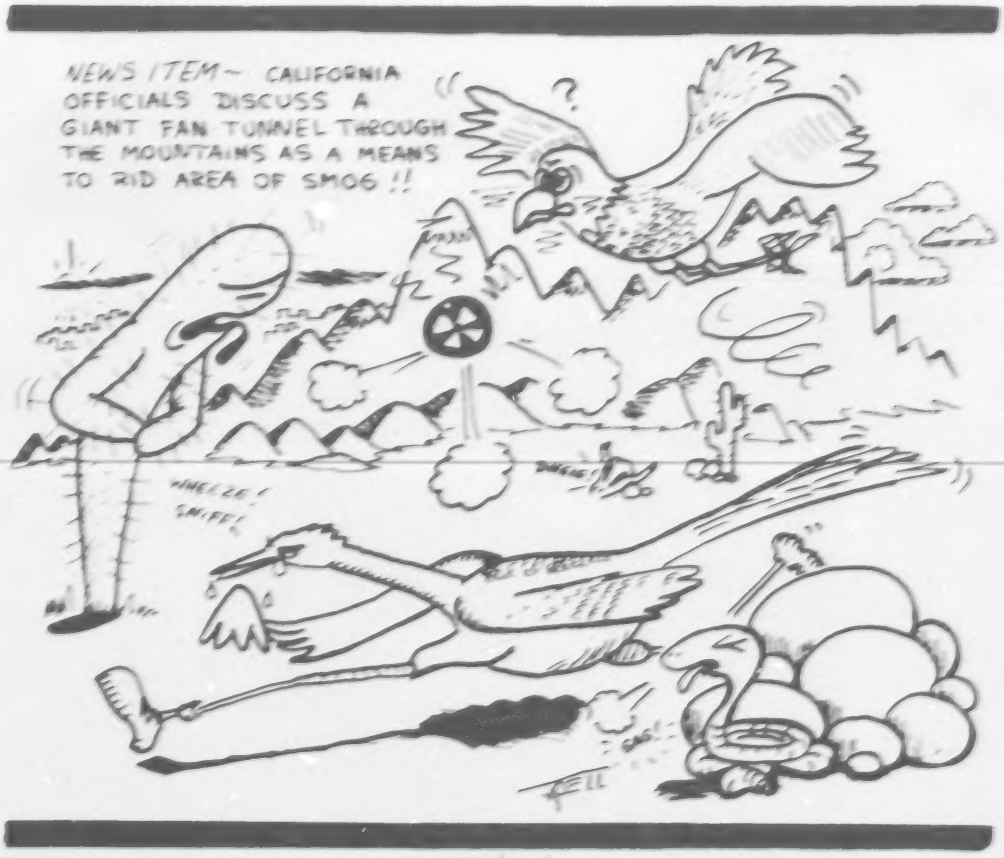
_____

2. Why?

_____

_____

_____


NEWS ITEM— CALIFORNIA OFFICIALS DISCUSS A GIANT FAN TUNNEL THROUGH THE MOUNTAINS AS A MEANS TO RID AREA OF SMOG !!
?
WHEEZE! SNIFF!

The Highway Lobby

As Activity One pointed out, the California State Constitution diverted all "gas tax" monies to the construction of highways within the state. The Collier Burns Act of 1947 specified the precise ways in which these funds are allocated. Senator Randolf Collier introduced this Act. In 1959, he introduced the Collier Master Plan for Freeways which established the goal of building a 12,500 mile state freeway and expressway system. Until recently, Senator Collier of Yreka, California, chaired the California Senate Transportation Committee. The Committee possesses the power to kill any transportation bill which threatens to divert gas tax money away from highway construction. Under Senator Collier's leadership, the Committee placed the protection of this money as its first priority.

Many organizations throughout the state also wish to protect this money. They want to restrict its use to the construction and maintenance of highways. Below you will find short descriptions of several such groups. Read the descriptions carefully and answer the questions which follow them.

1. The California State Automobile Association and the Auto Club of Southern California (AAA)

If you have ever had a flat tire, you may know about the services which an automobile club provides. In many states, the clubs offer towing and mechanical help to member drivers. Also, AAA sells automobile insurance to its members.

The California AAA has fought to defeat many mass transit bills introduced into the legislature through Senate Transportation Committee, even though its members would surely benefit from the development of mass transit as an alternative to driving which protects the landscape.

2. California Division of Highways

This state agency provides the expert engineering which helps build the state's freeways. Money from the gas tax pays many salaries of Division personnel. The Division works hard to convince Californians of the importance of freeways. In a Division publication titled How Los Angeles Was Unified by Freeways, Robert D. Zaniboni, a highway administrative officer, revealed the philosophy of his agency. "The challenge to men and machines to move mountains is here. We have a vast area for construction; we have the money and what's planned for the area mostly lies ahead. We've only scratched the surface ... Population means money ... We've been doing things in a big way, money-wise. Look at the construction schedule. Every couple of weeks, it seems, we let a contract for six million dollars, seven million dollars, five million dollars. Here's one for fourteen million dollars. That takes a lot of engineering of varied kinds. It's the big time!"

3. California Trucking Associates

This group has over 2,000 members throughout the state. Trucking is big business in California. Thanks to this business, stores and industry receive a steady flow of material needed to operate. In turn, consumers find stores well stocked. The nature of their business demands that

truckers unite to insure the development of a completed freeway system throughout the state. California Trucking Associates serves as an umbrella organization within which truckers can work for this common goal. In addition to the trucking companies, the Teamsters Union often works closely with California Trucking Associates. Because many Teamsters work for trucking companies, they often disagree over such things as wages and benefits. However, in Sacramento they work together to protect their common interests.

4. Oil Companies

In California, as in other states, the oil companies, through service stations, fuel the vehicles which ride the freeways. California hosts quite a number of oil companies including Atlantic-Richfield, Gulf Oil, Humble Oil, Mobil Oil, Phillips Petroleum, Shell Oil, Standard Oil of California, Union Oil and others.

1. What common interests do these groups have?

_____

_____

_____

2. Name three ways by which they could work together to achieve these common goals?

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

Throughout the 1960's many attempts were made to use some portion of the gas tax revenues for construction of local transit systems. Mary Kiley referred to one such attempt, Proposition 18. To the AAA, the California Division of Highways, California Trucking Associates, and the Oil companies, nothing could be more undesirable. Their existence depended on the successful development of a freeway system. They perceived all such attempts to divert gas tax revenues as threats. The protection of these revenues and the promotion of highways in California, prompted these groups to establish offices in Sacramento, the state capital. From there, they watched all attempts to amend Article XXVI of the State Constitution. They worked closely with Senator Collier's Transportation Committee in this regard. These groups plus others including the Trailer Coach Association, the Motor Car Dealers Association of Northern and Southern California and many concrete companies became known as the "Highway Lobby." Created because various groups sought to achieve a common goal, the Highway Lobby quickly became one of the most powerful political forces in California. It has successfully defeated every effort to divert gas tax revenues for development of mass transit systems.

Discussion Questions for The Highway Lobby

1. What goals guide the activities of the Highway Lobby?

_____

_____

_____

2. What political resources do the leaders have?

Name	Resources
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

3. Give three examples of the methods used by the Highway Lobby to support the fight for clean air?

_____

_____

_____

4. How successful do you think the lobby will be? _____

Why? _____

_____

_____

5. How are CAN and the Highway Lobby similar?

_____

_____

_____

ACTIVITY THREE: RIVERSIDE IN COURT

Successful mobilization combined with the political environment affected the system of Riverside in several ways. The leadership of Riverside showed evidence of its increased attention to the problems caused by smog. The city government developed an anti-pollution plan which Mayor Lewis took to Sacramento on behalf of the city. In addition, in February of 1972, the city took two actions in response to increasing public pressure. First, the Riverside city council voted to establish an eleven member Environmental Protection Commission. The Commission had powers to investigate activities of the city related to the environment. It was established to advise the city council and the city manager, Dan Stone. Most of its members were selected because they were experts in such fields as health and law. In addition to the city government, the Riverside County Board of Supervisors toughened the county smog regulations. As of February, 1972, Riverside county had the most strict rules in the state.

Clean Air Now demonstrated its ability to alter two other aspects of the system of Riverside. It helped increase the number of people involved in political life by engaging them in anti-smog activities. Also, it began to make many people think involvement in the smog crisis was important. In 1968, many Riversiders did not recognize smog as an important problem. By 1972 and '73, many citizens realized the adverse effects of smog on business and plant and animal life.

The following table was taken from a 1973 Riverside Opinion Survey conducted for Dan Stone. It depicts Riversiders' feelings about the seriousness of the smog issue.

Seriousness of Air Pollution

	Riverside (n=400)	California	Southern California
Extremely Serious	75%	25%	32%
Very Serious	15%	29%	32%
Somewhat Serious	8%	27%	20%
Not Too Serious	1%	14%	11%
Not at all Serious	1%	5%	3%

The same interview revealed that more than 70% of the respondents felt that smog in Riverside was worse than a year before the survey was undertaken. Compared to other community problems, the survey showed the relative seriousness of air pollution.

Seriousness of Community Problems (n=400)

Serious:	Very	Fairly	Not	No Response
Unemployment	23%	33%	23%	21%
Traffic	20%	32%	46%	2%
Air Pollution	88%	10%	2%	
Illegal Drugs	36%	27%	15%	22%
Availability of Recreational Facilities	20%	31%	43%	6%
Property Taxes	20%	26%	33%	21%
Crime	34%	44%	17%	5%
Poverty	26%	34%	28%	12%
Availability of Child Care Centers	20%	13%	21%	46%
Minority Relations	20%	35%	36%	9%
Quality of Local Schools	15%	23%	46%	16%
Public Transportation	40%	27%	20%	13%
Vocational or Job Training	21%	21%	28%	30%
Availability of Community Activities	16%	24%	46%	14%
Noise	18%	21%	61%	
Reputation of Community	12%	18%	65%	5%
Availability of Housing	9%	19%	63%	9%
Above Ground Utility Lines	11%	24%	54%	11%

Following you will find the summarized text of a law suit, Riverside v. Ruckelshaus. It represents one way Riverside demonstrated its increased frustration at the seriousness of the smog. Read the suit carefully and answer the questions which follow it.

RIVERSIDE v. RUCKELSHAUS

U.S. District Court
Central District of California

CITY OF RIVERSIDE; CITY OF SAN BERNARDINO; THE REGIONAL ANTI-POLLUTION AUTHORITY, a joint-powers agency; DESERT PEOPLE UNITED, a nonprofit corporation; EDWARD MEHREN, and CHRISTOPHER J. DIEBENKORN v. WILLIAM D. RUCKELSHAUS, as Administrator, Environmental Protection Agency, No. 72-2122-IH, November 16, 1972.

FINDINGS OF FACT

A. Plaintiffs filed a Complaint on September 6, 1972, claiming that defendent William D. Ruckelshaus, as Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, failed to perform a duty imposed upon him by Section 110 of the Clean Air Act of 1970. They sought to have this Court order the defendant to prepare and publish an implementation plan for the South Coast Air Basin showing that the national air quality standards will be met in the Basin within the time prescribed by law.

B. Plaintiffs filed a Motion for Preliminary Injunction on September 6, 1972, requesting that the defendant, Administrator, immediately prepare and publish such an implementation plan for the South Coast Air Basin.

C. Attached by plaintiffs to the Motion for Preliminary Injunction were the affadavits of eight residents of the South Coast Air Basin including medical doctors. They indicated that air pollution in the Basin is presently a severe problem with adverse health effects, resulting therefrom, and that plaintiffs had actively sought solutions to the problem. They were injured by the Administrator's failure to propose an implementation plan.

D. On or about February 23, 1972, the Administrator received from the State of California an implementation plan to achieve the Federal air quality standards within the various air quality control regions in California.

E. On May 24, 1972, the Administrator announced his disapproval of large portions of the California plan.

F. Certain regulations proposed by the Administrator on September 22, 1972, to correct deficiencies in the California implementation plan apparently completed the plan with respect to the South Coast Air Basin. However, they did not set forth the necessary transportation controls to meet the photochemical oxidant standard.

THE CLEAN AIR ACT OF 1970

A. The Clean Air Act of 1970 requires each state to adopt an implementation plan specifying the manner in which air quality standards will be achieved within each air quality control region. If a state fails to submit a satisfactory implementation plan, the Act requires the Administrator to develop such a plan.

B. The Clean Air Act establishes firm deadlines for actions to be taken by a state and by the Administrator in furtherance of the goal of clean air.

C. The Administrator failed to comply with the final July 31, 1972 deadline even though section 110 of the Clean Air Act states: "The Administrator shall, after consideration of any State hearing record, promptly prepare and publish proposed regulations setting forth an implementation plan, or portion thereof, for a State if --

(2) the plan, or any portion thereof, submitted for such State is determined by the Administrator not to be in accordance with the requirements of this section.

CONCLUSIONS OF LAW

A. This Court has jurisdiction over the parties and the subject matter.

B. By not publishing proposed regulations for transportation controls for the Metropolitan Los Angeles Intrastate Air Quality Control Region by July 31, 1972, the Administrator breached a duty under the Clean Air Act of 1970.

C. None of the justifications or excuses for delay alleged by the Administrator are valid under the statute.

D. Judgment for plaintiffs is granted on the merits, and the defendent is ordered to prepare and publish no later than January 15, 1973, regulations setting forth an implementation plan for attaining the air quality standard in California.

E. The court declines to award plaintiffs costs or attorneys' fees since the action is one against the U.S. Government.

Questions

1. Who filed the suit?

_____

_____

2. Who was the defendant?

_____

_____

3. Why was the suit filed?

_____

_____

_____

_____

4. Name three ways by which the outcome of the suit could affect Riverside?

   1.

   2.

   3.

Political Innovation

The suit which Riverside filed represented a political innovation. An innovation is any new procedure deliberately introduced into a system and justified by its expected consequences for the system. Usually, innovations contribute to change in that they provide people an additional avenue for participation. For example, until ~~1968~~ 1955 in the city of Montgomery, Alabama, blacks were restricted to riding in the rear sections of

city buses. In that year, however, the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. organized a black boycott of the city buses. It lasted for nearly 400 days and finally led to a lawsuit. The suit was ultimately heard by the Supreme Court of the United States, which held that segregated seating was unconstitutional. The boycott represented an innovation introduced by King. It was a <u>new procedure</u>, never having been practiced in Montgomery before 1955. It was <u>deliberately introduced into the system</u>, having been carefully planned by King. It was also <u>justified on the basis of its expected consequences for the system</u>, the elimination of racial segregation in public transportation in Montgomery.

Refer to the list below and identify the innovations. Be certain the items on the list meet the three requirements of the definition. Place a check in the appropriate box to indicate the requirement has been met. Also indicate the system to which the innovation has been introduced.

	New Procedure	Deliberately Introduced	Justified by Expected Consequences
1. The fourth annual boycott to protest food service in the school cafeteria.	☐	☐	☐
System: _____			
2. The U.S. Clean Air Act.	☐	☐	☐
System: _____			
3. Joining the first protest march in your town because you are mad.	☐	☐	☐
System: _____			
4. Writing letters to Congress members to protest smog	☐	☐	☐
System: _____			
5. Accidentally participating in Boston's first anti-abortion march.	☐	☐	☐
System: _____			

In 1970, the Congress passed amendments to the Clean Air Act of 1967. The 1970 amendments called on the administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency to develop a national air quality standard for any air pollutant. It called on the states to develop plans for implementing these standards within each state. Section 110, paragraph (a) of the 1970 amendments established the following responsibilities for the states and for the EPA.

1. The administrators of the EPA must set national standards for air quality.

2. Within nine months after standards have been set, each state must adopt a plan which provides for implementation, maintenance, and enforcement of the standards within each state. This plan must be submitted to the EPA.

3. Within four months of receiving the plan, the EPA must approve or disapprove it.

4. Within six months after the date required for submitting the plan, the EPA must make any revisions necessary for the plan to meet the national air quality standards.

5. The EPA must prepare and publish an implementation plan for a state if:

   --The state fails to submit a plan within the allowable nine months.

   --The plan submitted is not in accordance with EPA requirements.

   --The state fails to revise the plan.

The Clean Air Act of 1970 set a 1975 deadline for meeting the standards it set. However, it did give the EPA the authority to grant two additional years in areas which did not have the technology to meet the standards. Thus, the EPA was bound to replace or modify any portion of a plan within nine months after disapproving it; in the case of California, by July 31, 1972.

Federal standards were set and within nine months the EPA began evaluating the plans submitted by each state. However, it approved the plans of only nine states. It published the problems cited in each of the inadequate plans. The California plan lacked:

1. Regulations for APCD's to stop construction of factories which would cause the federal standards to be exceeded.

2. Proper provisions for the state to take emergency action in major smog alerts. Such action includes shutting down factories and limiting the use of cars.

3. Methods for citizens to get emissions information necessary to control pollution.

4. Requirements for disclosure of emissions from factories and commercial facilities.

The two month period granted by the Clean Air Act meant that the EPA had to complete a revised plan by July 31. Observers in Southern California watched as the sixty days passed. It appeared that no plan would be ready by the thirty-first.

Mayor Lewis met with Governor Reagan in late summer. At that time, the Mayor presented the Riverside emergency plan to rid the area of smog. On September 1, the state Attorney-General announced that the state had no power to implement the Riverside plan. The newspapers noted the Mayor's disgust and reported that he was looking elsewhere for help.

Frustrated at the lack of action of California and the EPA, and suffering under an increasingly serious blanket of smog, the city of Riverside tried a new tactic.

The Regional Anti-Pollution Authority (RAPA), a group of cities to the south of Riverside had filed a suit against the EPA. They hired a law firm in Los Angeles called the Center for Law and the Public Interest. RAPA intended to sue the EPA for its failure to create a substitute plan for California. The city of Riverside decided to join in the suit. Though a variety of other anti-smog activities had been introduced into Riverside, a lawsuit represented something completely new. The suit was filed against William Ruckelshaus and has since become known as Riverside v. Ruckelshaus.

Riverside won the case. As a result, the EPA was ordered to develop and implement a plan immediately for the South Coast Air Basin. The

preamble to the EPA plan read "legal requirements placed on the agency ... leave the administration with no presently available legal alternative but to propose this plan." California had such a drastic smog problem that the EPA plan proposed equally drastic measures. The plan called for rationing gasoline to cut its consumption by over 80% in the smog months of May through October. One of its other features called for an increase in city parking costs. This aspect of the plan was designed to encourage motorists to join car pools and thus drive fewer cars into cities in the basin. Though this stringent plan eventually was replaced by a more moderate one, it did demonstrate that Riverside's use of a lawsuit had been quite effective. Asked why Riverside joined in the suit, Mary Nichols, their lawyer said, "They (Riverside and San Bernardino) see the Clean Air Act as their only hope."

Innovation and Change

The following questions will help to explain the suit in terms of the definition of innovation presented in the text. Answer each question as fully as you can.

1. How was the legal procedure different from other activities tried before?

_____

_____

_____

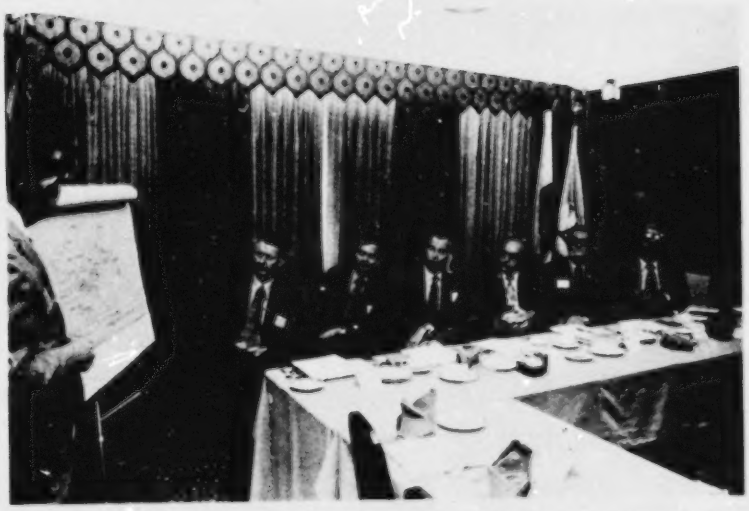
2. How was the suit deliberately introduced?

_____

_____

_____

EPA officials explain plan to citizens of South Coast Air Basin*



EPA officials explain plan to city officers. Mayor Lewis, (second from right)*

*Pictures from Riverside Press-Enterprise (reprinted by permission).

3. What were the expected consequences of the suit?

_____

_____

_____

_____

The suit had no immediate consequences for Riverside. The smog did not suddenly clear despite the stringent rules set forth by Ruckelshaus. His plan caused major criticism of the role of the EPA in California affairs. In Riverside, Mayor Lewis commented on the plan.

"I've heard it said that EPA was unhappy. I think EPA earnestly tried to come up with a plan with little experience. It was a bureaucratic attempt to come up with a plan on the drawing board, but, it was not practical."

Art Pick, a member of the city council had a similar reaction to the EPA plan.

"The city of Riverside had an interesting dilemma. I was on the council when we went to a non-profit law firm, Law in The Public Interest, and we sued the EPA to come up with regulations. When they came up with the regulations, the same city of Riverside said, 'That's ridiculous.' It was as if somebody said, 'Well, you're going to have to do something.' And they said, 'Well, I'll teach you, I'll come up with the most ridiculous thing I can think of,' and they came up with the EPA parking regulations. That didn't make any sense to anybody, and, of course, the Chamber was in a position of literally fighting that particular one, because it would have put business in southern California virtually out of business."

Negative reaction to the EPA plan was widespread. Few people believed it could be implemented. Despite the success or failure of EPA's intervention, it served as an example of the effect of lawsuits. While many people disagreed about the intelligence of EPA, not one doubted the effectiveness of the new tactic employed by Riverside.

The suit proved that the city fathers were willing to take decisive action. By joining in the suit, they demonstrated their rising concern about smog and its effect on the Riverside community.

Groups throughout southern California looked carefully at the idea of using lawsuits to help clean the air. CAN used this tactic quite successfully in 1974. The following statement was made by a past president of CAN. Read it carefully and answer the questions which follow it.

> " In 1974, we hired a law firm in Los Angeles, because the Los Angeles APCD, the Air Pollution Control District, was taking the position that the information they obtained on factories and other air polluters -- stationary air polluters -- was not public information. They said it was just something between the Air Pollution Control District and the polluter. Their position was this -- here's a factory that's polluting and if you make public the fact that they may have this chemical and that chemical or some other chemical in their pollution, why then some competitor can say, 'Oh, that's the thing that they're putting in their product that I'm not putting in my product. I now know their secret and I can compete better with them.' The Air Pollution Control District said, 'We aren't going to let you have that information. We aren't going to make it public because it's a secret, it's a trade secret.' We contended that it was not a trade secret and that the people

were entitled to that information because they were the ones that were suffering. Whether it might help a competitor or not was just an incidental situation. So, we hired a law firm in Los Angeles, and we made quite a bitch, and, of course, we threatened a law suit against the LAAPC. But we had to go that far and finally got them to publish all of the ingredients of the pollutions of the various stationary polluters in Los Angeles. Now any one could go there and get that information."

1. Why was the suit filed?

_____

_____

_____

2. What were the expected consequences of this suit?

_____

_____

_____

3. What were the consequences?

_____

_____

_____

Think about how innovation contributed to change in Riverside. Respond to the following items with respect to how they have been affected by innovation.

Ideology

☐ Change ☐ No Change

Explain: _____

Influence

☐ Change ☐ No Change

Explain: _____

Wealth

☐ Change ☐ No Change

Explain: _____

Participation

☐ Change ☐ No Change

Explain: _____

Communication

☐ Change ☐ No Change

Explain: _____

Decision-Making

☐ Change ☐ No Change

Explain: _____

Leadership

☐ Change ☐ No Change

Explain: _____

Why were some patterns affected and not others?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

The following case illustrates change in another political system, South Austin. As you read it, consider how mobilization and innovation contribute to change.

South Austin Changes

The community of Austin is located on the south side of Chicago. This area of the city has undergone both social and political changes due to the expansion of ghetto areas which lie to its east. Many people have labeled Austin itself a ghetto, a suggestion which the residents of this community would vigorously dispute.

In the early 1960's, Austin was a predominantly white community. However, by the end of the decade many whites had moved out and middle class blacks moved into the Southern part of Austin. South Austin which extends from Lake Street on the North to Roosevelt Road on the South has become a predominantly black community. Today, the residents of South Austin consider it a separate community. To its north lies North Austin. To the south lies Cicero, an Eastern European community, known in the late 60's for its violent clashes between blacks and whites. On the west lies the community of Oak Park. On the east, the Eisenhower expressway leads into the heart of downtown Chicago.

(Picture from the University of Chicago Press)*

*The three pictures of South Austin in this case come from Radicals in Urban Politics -- The Alinsky Approach, Robert Bailey, Jr., University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1972.

In the late 1960's it looked as though South Austin might suffer a fate similar to other communities on the edge of Chicago's ghetto. In many communities, middle income residents moved outward from the crowded and deteriorating conditions of Chicago's central city. They sought better neighborhoods further away from the inner city. Therefore, many residents would leave their poor housing for others to rent and to occupy. People with lower incomes who could afford the recently abandoned housing would move in to these areas. As a result, the same area was occupied by people who rarely had the ability to improve the conditions there.

Evidence began to mount that this cycle was affecting South Austin. The number of crimes began to rise rapidly. Violent crimes rose by 17% in the area while the rest of Chicago saw a 1.5% decrease for the same period. Fire station runs rose from 657 in 1965 to 1400 in 1970. The quality of the schools also declined. Many white teachers and administrators fled the school system placing a severe overload on the remaining school employees. As a result the size of an average class increased to more than fifty students. However, no permanent structures were built to accommodate the growing number of students. Even temporary facilities were inadequate because they were frequently vandalized. Austin High School became the scene of violent clashes between black and white students and eventually 25 policemen were called in to patrol the halls.

Both blacks and whites wanted to stop the apparent deterioration of South Austin. Many white families which had remained after the racial transition did not want to move away, and the new middle class blacks wanted a decent neighborhood in which to raise their families. Both groups were willing to work together to stop the trouble in the community.

Most residents of South Austin felt it was futile to appeal to the Chicago city government for help. They felt powerless to affect Mayor Daley's Democratic machine which dominated the city administration. Mayor Daley kept tight control over most aspects of the city government. The City Council and the Aldermen, elected from local wards, seldom openly opposed the Mayor. Those who did, often lost whatever support they had from the Daley machine, including their jobs.

One tie which kept the democratic machine in firm control of South Austin was its ability to disperse public jobs throughout the city. Daley's administration dispensed these jobs, called patronage jobs, to people who had served Daley or the Democratic party. Staying active in Democratic party functions and in election campaigns could qualify a person for one of the more than 30,000 patronage jobs in Chicago. These jobs included street cleaning, garbage collection, secretarial work, and other types of employment. The people in these positions knew that their jobs and their livelihood depended on their continued cooperation with the Democratic machine. In this way, the Mayor kept a firm grip on his administration and on activities in local communities throughout the city. In one of the two wards in South Austin, between 400 and 500 patronage jobs existed.

Residents in South Austin showed little faith in their Aldermen. Only 39% of the whites and 33% of the blacks felt that the Aldermen were interested in helping the community. With a distant city government, citizens who wanted to change conditions in South Austin looked elsewhere for help.

When blacks first moved into Austin, the local clergy formed a group called the Austin Community Organization (ACO). The ACO sought to ease the transition of Austin from a white neighborhood to a black and white

one. A competing organization, the United Property Group (UPG) fought to keep blacks out of South Austin. The rivalry between the two groups was intense. In response to the UPG's extreme racism, the ACO became more radical in its support of integration. Soon the moderates left the ACO, and both groups, without any moderate community support, folded in 1965.

Many clergymen still felt South Austin needed a community organization to deal with the problems of a shifting racial balance. To help establish such an organization, they hired a professional organizer named Tom Gaudette. Having organized a similar group in another community, Gaudette possessed experience and organizational skills. In addition, his experiences and his initial successes in South Austin gained him respect from the citizens of the community. He began in South Austin by organizing small grass-roots

(Picture from the University of Chicago Press)

groups to fight specific problems such as poor garbage pickups by the city. These initial groups, plus other interested organizations in the area, formed an umbrellla organization called the Organization for a Better Austin (OBA).

The OBA included organizations, not individuals. Any officially organized group containing at least ten members could join the OBA. The number of organizations in it fluctuated from year to year. There were 189 in 1969, 124 in 1970, and 146 in 1971. Many of the groups which were formed to fight a specific problem disbanded when the problem was solved. OBA, however, as an umbrella organization, continued to exist. There were continually new community problems and new groups formed to fight them. Organizations became eager to join the OBA and work through it because OBA had an established reputation. People were more likely to listen to it than to a small, newly formed pressure-group. In addition, OBA used its more extensive resources to help member organizations mobilize Austin residents.

Block clubs formed the heart of the OBA. (See Table 1.) Residents formed clubs to improve conditions in their immediate neighborhood. They deal with everyday problems.

TABLE 1*

Type of Organizations in the OBA	1969	1970	1971
Block Clubs	85	70	90
OBA Committees	9	1	9
Church Groups	56	28	26
Associations of Block Clubs	2	4	3
Social Service	4	2	2
Public Ed. Youth	18	7	8
Business	2	0	1
Tenants	0	2	2
Miscellaneous	13	10	5

They might call the dog catcher about strays, complain about the noise, or meet with their Alderman to demand better garbage collection.

The OBA made good use of block clubs. It divided South Austin into areas. Each month organizers would hold a meeting of block club captains from their area. This gave the captains a chance to discuss common problems and plan strategy. The OBA block clubs became a good way of mobilizing the residents and solidifying support for improvements in community conditions. As true grass roots organizations, they provided a rapid and effective communication link with the residents of South Austin. If an emergency meeting was arranged, an OBA organizer simply called the block club captains and the word spread quickly.

---

*Robert Bailey, Jr., Radicals in Urban Politics -- The Alinsky Approach, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1972, p. 52

WELCOME! to the
4800-4900 BLOCKS OF HARRISON STREET
PLEASE HELP US KEEP OUR BLOCKS SAFE & BEAUTIFUL BY OBSERVING THE FOLLOWING
·KEEP OFF THE GRASS
·DO NOT DEFACE PROPERTY
·DON'T LITTER
·NO CAR WASHING OR REPAIRS ON STREET
·NO HORN BLOWING
·DON'T BLOCK DRIVEWAYS
·NO SPEEDING
·NO LOITERING
·CURB YOUR DOG
Thank You

(Picture from the University of Chicago Press)

The Organizations for a Better Austin held annual congresses which were important for soliciting active support from both the community and member organizations. An OBA congress was much like a national political convention. Decorated signs identified the member organizations and posters supported candidates for various offices. While the congress has some constitutional duties, such as electing officers and approving the budget, its main function is more symbolic. It provides a chance to inform the community about the OBA, to attract new organizations and to give members a sense of unity.

Between congresses, the OBA utilized protest tactics to help improve the community. These tactics mobilized community support for or against specific problems. Protest represented a new and effective form of political participation in South Austin. The OBA researched problems so that protests could be effectively directed at the correct target. The purpose of an OBA protest was to disrupt social stability in order to achieve a compromise solution to a problem.

Protest took a variety of forms in South Austin. For example, a boycott in 1968 forced the Chicago Board of Education to relieve overcrowded elementary schools in the community. This tactic was effective because the amount of state aid for education Chicago received was based on school attendance. When attendance dropped, so did the amount of aid given to the city.

OBA picketed Chicago real estate firms in order to inform the public of its housing complaints, and it frequently invited public officials to community meetings. There they were skillfully questioned, often in very emotional exchanges, until they agreed to work more closely with the citizens of South Austin.

Several methods of protest were used against absentee slum landlords. To pressure the landlords, OBA organized residents who rented deteriorating housing. An effective tactic used against landlords and public officials involved visits to their homes in the affluent Chicago suburbs or at their church on Sundays. There, OBA organizers distributed pamphlets describing the condition of the property owned by the landlord. Sometimes the mere presence of a large group of black tenants was enough to convince a landlord to promise to make improvements in his buildings.

Once a protest received a person's attention, the OBA workers negotiated an arrangement with the landlord or public official. This arrangement was as important as the protest itself. First, it listed the specific grievances and the procedures for correcting them. Second, it called for a public official to investigate the situation, and third, it established a deadline for the completion of the work.

By introducing protest tactics and follow-up negotiations into South Austin, the OBA gave residents an outlet for their frustrations. But even more importantly, it gave them a means for halting the deterioration of their community. It also trained a cadre of leaders and effectively organized the grass-roots block clubs. South Austin now has the leadership and organizational framework to continue active political participation in community affairs. The Aldermen remain as representatives of the community. However, the increased involvement of citizens in the community had created a more responsive leadership.

Questions

1. Who established the OBA? _____

2. What Political Resources did the founder(s) have?

3. What goals guided the organization? _____

4. How did the OBA gain and maintain membership?

5. What new procedures were introduced to South Austin which contributed to change? _____

6. Why were they introduced? _____

7. How did mobilization and innovation contribute to change in South Austin? _____

ACTIVITY FOUR: MORE GROUPS

CALIFORNIA DISTRICT COURT REQUIRES YOUR SIGNATURE.....
SOME FIGURES FROM THE A.R.B.!
NOW, AT THE ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY, WE SEE IT THIS WAY...
YOUR FRIENDS IN THE STATE SENATE URGE YOU TO....
I'LL JUST LET YOU SPEAK TO THE L.A. COUNTY POLLUTION CONTROL OFFICE!
THE GOVERNOR SENDS THIS INFORMATION.
MAYOR LEWIS

In the late 1960's Riverside still considered itself a small town where everyone knew everyone else. During this period, smog became recognized as a serious issue by the citizens who lived there. Their response to the problem brought about changes in the political system of Riverside. For example, the successful mobilization of an active anti-smog citizens group, CAN, provided an organization through which people could participate in political life. Through its newsletter, CAN made

many citizens sensitive to the issue of smog. What had previously been a "bother" to many people became a serious problem.

As the issue took on more importance, it soon became apparent that the issue was not limited to Riverside and the South Coast Air Basin. Riverside had become interdependent with a variety of political groups throughout California and the country. Interdependence occurs when groups must interact in order to get things done. In the space below, list the groups with which Riverside had to interact as it sought to improve the quality of the air.

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

Many of the groups with which Riverside had to interact became new political forces. For example, Governor Reagan became a powerful political force. The city leaders felt that the only way to implement an effective clean air plan for the South Coast Air Basin was through the state government. So, they developed a plan in hopes of submitting it to Governor Reagan. They met with him, but he did not accept the Riverside plan. Riverside leaders developed the plan in response to a problem which existed in their city. However, the scope of the issue had become so large that they could not act without the cooperation of the Governor. The Governor, by his failure to approve the plan, prompted Riverside to interact with another part of the political environment, the court.

The California District Court became an extremely powerful political force in 1972. By ordering the Environmental Protection Agency to impose an implementation plan on the South Coast Air Basin, the Court introduced a new dimension into the political situation. The plan which resulted from its intervention was very strict. While Riverside joined in filing the suit, its leaders were put in the position of opposing its results. No one in the city government could accept the stringent gasoline rationing called for or the expensive parking regulations suggested by EPA. This situation arose because of the interdependence between Riverside and the California District Court. As the leaders in Riverside became more conscious of air quality, their interaction with other groups increased. They found quickly that they were interdependent with many aspects of the political environment. Interdependence significantly widened the scope of the fight for clean air in Riverside.

An incident which occurred in May of 1972 further illustrates how interdependence increased the scope of the smog issue. Previous to that time, all Air Pollution Control Districts were administered by three members. Among their responsibilities, these three people had the power to grant permission to industries who wished to exceed anti-pollution standards. Citizens of Riverside had argued for years that the Board of the Los Angeles Air Pollution Control District granted too many "variances." They suggested that these permissions resulted in accumulation of industrial pollution which eventually blew into Riverside. On May 24, 1974, the California State Assembly passed a bill introduced by Republican Assemblyman Craig Biddle of Riverside. It required all Air Pollution Boards to hold formal, public hearings on all requests by firms who could not meet anti-pollution standards. While it is too early to judge, this procedure may reduce the number of such permissions granted in Los Angeles County.

Therefore, it may cut down on the industrial pollutants which blow from there to Riverside.

The Biddle bill focuses on two other powerful political forces with which Riverside interacted, the State Assembly and the LAAPCD. Riverside simply could not deal with the problem of air pollution by turning inward. In many ways, the successes Riverside achieved depended on the extent to which its leaders recognized their interdependence with the political environment. As Riverside has experienced change due to its response to smog, interdependence has enlarged the scope of this change as well as introduced new political forces.

Your teacher will now divide the class into small groups. Together with the other members of your group, make a list of the actions by which Riverside attempted to achieve clean air. One action Riverside took, for instance, involved constant pressure upon the state Air Resources Board. If the ARB would require anti-smog devices on cars in the state, then cars would produce a smaller amount of pollution. Riverside might experience cleaner air. What other actions did Riverside take?

1. Pressure for strict exhaust requirements.
2.
3.
4.
5.

Interdependence meant that each time Riverside tried to improve the air quality, it usually had to interact with a part of the political environment. For example, a plan for more strict exhaust control required action from the State Air Resources Board. By itself, Riverside lacked

authority to develop such a plan. The actions the Board did or did not take directly affected Riverside. In Activity One, Mary Kiley describes the various responsibilities of the Board.

Return to the list you just completed. For each Riverside activity you mentioned, think carefully about a part of the political environment with which Riverside was forced to interact. Complete the following lists as in number 1.

Riverside Action	Part of Political Environment Which Riverside Interacted With
1. Pressure for strict exhaust requirements	State Air Resources Board
2.	
3.	
4.	
5.	

Just as the system of Riverside was interdependent with the political environment, so were groups within Riverside. In its early years Clean Air Now expressed an interest in providing detailed knowledge about smog to the citizens of the South Coast Air Basin. Realizing the limitations of its newsletter, CAN submitted a proposal to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education. The proposal requested over $33,000 to educate community leaders, legislative representatives, and the general public about the dangers of smog. CAN was forced to interact with HEW in order to implement this program. HEW ultimately rejected CAN's proposal. In addition to HEW, CAN became interdependent with other aspects

of the political environment. In number 2 below name another action taken by CAN which caused it to interact with a part of the political environment.

CAN Action	Part of Political Environment Which CAN Interacted With
1. Proposal to educate public	Department of Health, Education and Welfare
2.	

As you probably have concluded, it simply became impossible for Riverside to act without becoming involved with numerous other groups. Riverside was not only affected by what happened in Riverside, but often by what happened outside of the city. The list below may resemble those you constructed. They point out actions taken by Riverside and CAN and their resulting interactions with the political environment.

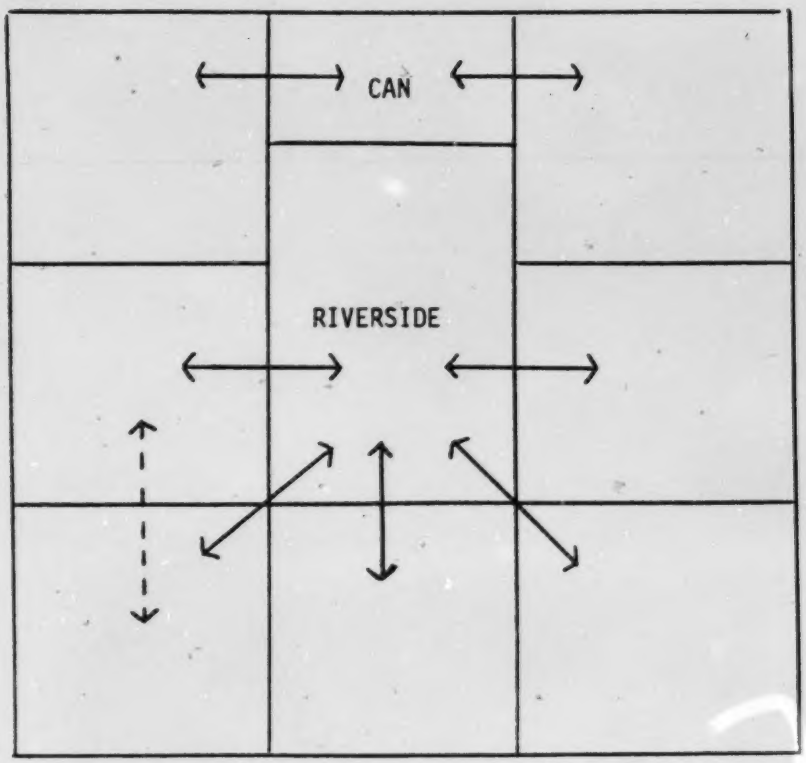
Riverside Action	Interaction With Political Environment
1. Push for exhaust devices	State Air Resources Board
2. Suit filed against W. Ruckelshaus	Environmental Protection Agency
3. Development of "Riverside Plan"	Governor Reagan
4. Suit filed against W. Ruckelshaus	California District Court
5. Push for fewer "variances" granted to industry by APCD's	California State Assembly

CAN Action	
1. Plan to educate the public	HEW
2. Suit threatened for LAAPCD to disclose information on stationary pollutors	LAAPCD

Below you will see a list of nine parts of the political environment with which Riverside was interdependent. Action Riverside took both affected and was affected by these groups. Following the list you will find a box with nine spaces. Two spaces are filled by Riverside and CAN. By filling the other seven groups in the appropriate boxes, you can indicate the interdependence between Riverside and its political environment. The dotted lines indicate an interdependence relationship between two parts of the political environment.

Together with the other members of your group, place the seven remaining groups in the proper boxes.

1. Riverside
2. HEW
3. LAAPCD
4. EPA
5. Governor
6. Court
7. Assembly
8. ARB
9. CAN



CHANGE IN OPEC

In 1960, five of the world's oil producing nations formed an organization to promote collective action in negotiations with oil companies and oil consuming nations. Called the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), this group grew quickly to include a total of twelve members. A list of OPEC nations appears below.

Member Nations of OPEC

Iran	Algeria
Saudi Arabia	Libya
Kuwait	Quatar
Iraq	Venezuela
Indonesia	Equador
Nigeria	Abu Dhabi

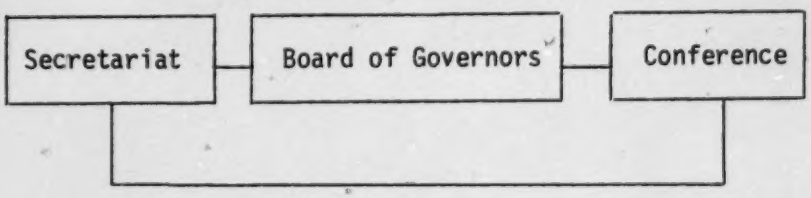
Three main bodies govern OPEC: the Conference, the Board of Governors, and the Secretariat. Supreme authority rests with the Conference which assumes responsibility for formulating general policy for OPEC.

The Conference is composed of one representative from each country and meets twice a year. Members have equal voting rights and all decisions require unanimous consent of the members. The principles of sharing all information and cooperating on all matters relating to the international oil industry pervade to meetings of the Conference.

Each country also appoints a representative to the OPEC Board of Governors. The Board implements the policies developed by the Conference. It also manages the activities of the Secretariat by approving the nominations of department chiefs who work in the Secretariat.

The Secretariat represents the common interests of the member nations of OPEC. While nations share their individual interests, through the Conference, once a policy is established, the Secretariat speaks on behalf of the organization. Five separate departments comprise the Secretariat: 1. administration, 2. economics, 3. legal, 4. information, 5. technical. The Secretary-General heads the Secretariat and nominations to this position require the approval of all OPEC members.

Governing Bodies of OPEC

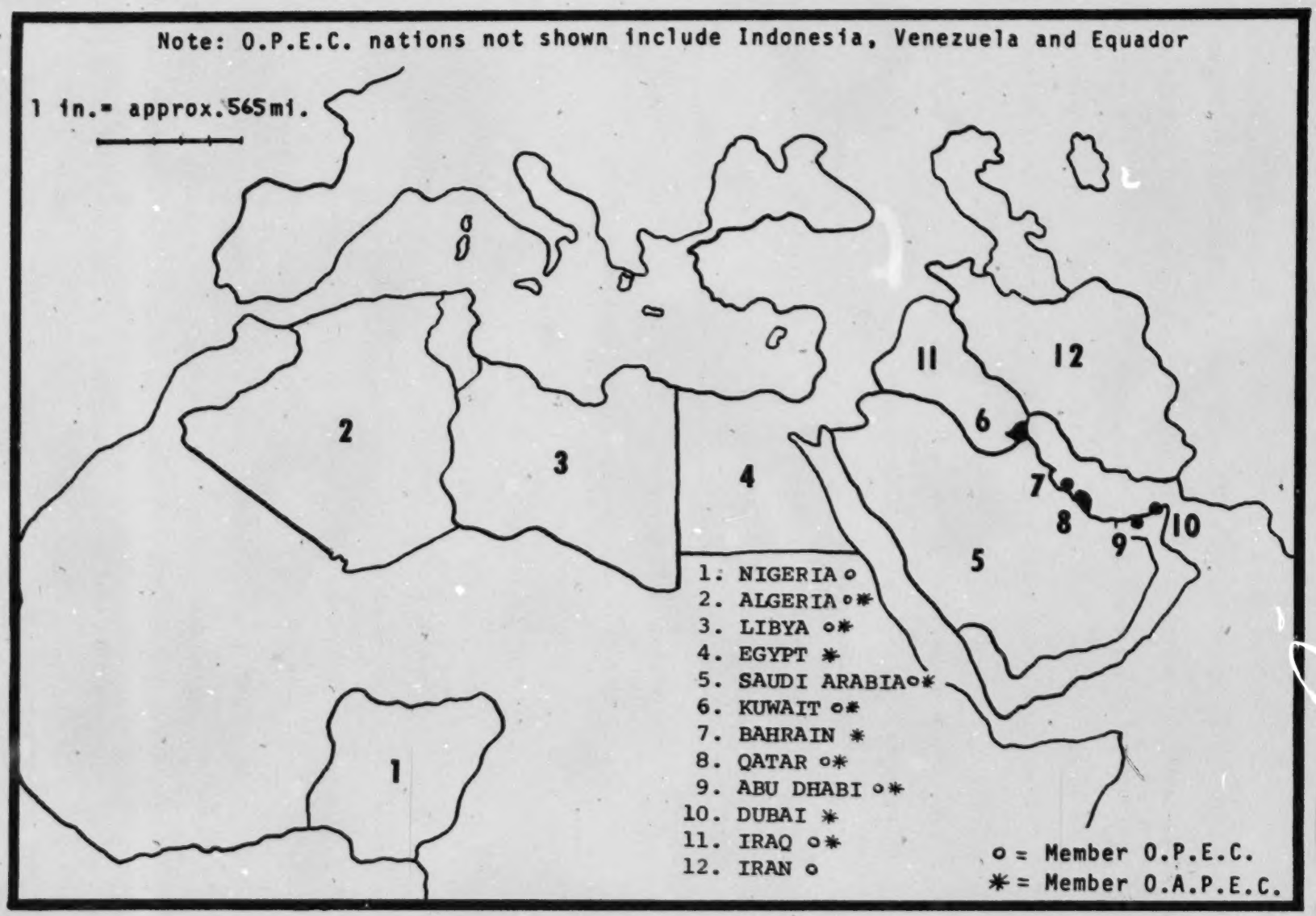


As countries throughout the world consume more oil, they have come to rely more on OPEC. OPEC produces far more oil than any other world source. It also has tremendous proven oil reserves. The largest non-OPEC reserves lie in the Soviet Union, in the North Sea, and off Alaska's North Slope.

Until 1968 none of OPEC's members belonged to any petroleum organization other than OPEC. This promoted good communication among all OPEC members. However, the events following the Arab-Israeli war of June 1967 altered this pattern of communication within OPEC. The war resulted in the Israeli occupation of more than 25,000 square miles of Arab territories (in Egypt, Jordan, and Syria). Some Arab states felt that their oil represented a potentially powerful weapon to use against Israel and its supporters.

Therefore, the states imposed a selective oil embargo on the United States, the United Kingdom and West Germany. They hoped that these countries would exert pressure on Israel to withdraw from the occupied Arab territories. In 1968, these countries, especially the United States, imported a relatively small amount of oil from the Middle East. Therefore, the embargo was relatively meaningless and the Arab oil producers employed another policy. They adopted the following resolution at an Arab Summit Conference in Khartum on August 29, 1967.

> "The Conference of Arab Ministers of Finance, Economy and Oil had recommended the possibility of employing the stoppage of the flow of oil as a weapon in the battle. However, after careful study of the matter, the Summit Conference concluded that oil flow could itself be used as a positive weapon in that Arab oil represents an Arab asset which could be used to strengthen the economies of those Arab states which were directly affected by the aggression, thereby enabling them to stand firm in the battle. The Conference therefore decided to resume oil pumping operations on the grounds that this is an Arab asset which can be put to use in the service of Arab aims; and in contributing towards enabling those Arab states which were subjected to aggression and a consequent loss of economic resources to stand firm in their resolve to eliminate the effects of the aggression."


Note: O.P.E.C. nations not shown include Indonesia, Venezuela and Equador
1 in.= approx.565mi.
1. NIGERIA o
2. ALGERIA o*
3. LIBYA o*
4. EGYPT *
5. SAUDI ARABIA o*
6. KUWAIT o*
7. BAHRAIN *
8. QATAR o*
9. ABU DHABI o*
10. DUBAI *
11. IRAQ o*
12. IRAN o
o = Member O.P.E.C.
* = Member O.A.P.E.C.

Following this meeting, Kuwait, Libya, and Saudi Arabia proposed the establishment of a separate group of Arab nations to assist those Arab countries in their fight against Israel. This new group would meet to discuss oil matters which pertained to politics in the Middle East. Officially founded in January of 1968, the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC) grew to include ten nations. Most OAPEC nations were also members of OPEC but some were not. The OAPEC Charter states that its policies must not conflict with those of OPEC and that OPEC decisions are binding on all members of OAPEC. The map depicts OPEC and OAPEC nations.

While both organizations concerned themselves with problems of oil production and consumption, OAPEC's goals were primarily political. It wanted to use its oil to unify the Arab states. When necessary, it would use this weapon against Israel and its allies. OPEC served as a forum where all oil producing exporting countries could meet and discuss problems of negotiating with oil consumers. The Arab nations of OPEC have all joined OAPEC but they continue to be members of OPEC. The non-Arab countries such as Nigeria, Venezuela, Equador and Indonesia do not want to join OAPEC because they do not want to waste their resources on Middle East politics. What, then, is the effect on OPEC of this other organization OAPEC?

Throughout the 1970's the price of oil rose steadily. As Western nations consumed more oil, their reliance upon OPEC increased. The 1973 Arab-Israeli war provided OAPEC with an opportunity to capitalize on this reliance. In retaliation against Israel, the Arab nations increased the

price of oil, cut back on their production, and imposed another embargo on the United States. These actions forced the United States to buy more oil from non-Arab members of OPEC. Because of the increased demand for their oil, OPEC nations increased their price. OAPEC's goals, however, kept it from selling its oil to Western nations. Though the embargo severely restricted the use of oil in Western countries, it meant that OAPEC lost money it might have made by selling its oil.

1. What change has OPEC experienced as a result of the founding of OAPEC?

_____

_____

_____

2. What relationship exists between the two organizations?

_____

_____

_____

3. Describe one example of interdependence between the two organizations.

_____

_____

_____

4. How does interdependence affect change?

_____

_____

_____

_____

ACTIVITY FIVE: WHAT NEXT FOR RIVERSIDE?

As Activity One suggested, during the years 1968-1972, Riverside changed in several ways. The years 1968-1972 saw the most smog-related action in Riverside. In these years CAN and other groups were most active in mobilizing support to fight smog. Additionally, during these years, interdependence affected change by widening its scope. Innovations introduced into the system, as well as aspects of the political environment brought about changes in ideology, participation and leadership.

Future changes in Riverside will be difficult to predict. Though the Riverside Chamber of Commerce says smog is now on a decline in the area, many citizens in the area dispute this assertion. The Statewide Air Pollution Research Center at the University of California in Riverside conducts frequent analyses of the air quality in the area. Their data suggest that smog remains a critical problem for Riverside and the entire South Coast Air Basin.

In 1972, Mayor Lewis submitted a plan to Governor Reagan which called for the use of natural gas for motor vehicle fuel. The plan had a variety of other features. The plan was ultimately rejected. Following you will find excerpts from this plan which appear exactly as they were originally presented. Just suppose the plan were submitted again and implemented.

RESOLUTION NO. 11881*

A RESOLUTION OF THE CITY COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF RIVERSIDE, CALIFORNIA, REQUESTING THE GOVERNOR TO DECLARE A STATE OF EMERGENCY IN THE SOUTH COAST AIR BASIN DUE TO CONDITIONS OF DISASTER OR EXTREME PERIL TO THE SAFETY OF PERSONS AND PROPERTY CAUSED BY AIR POLLUTION WHICH CONDITIONS, BY REASON OF THEIR MAGNITUDE, ARE BEYOND THE CONTROL OF THE SERVICES, PERSONNEL, EQUIPMENT AND FACILITIES OF ANY SINGLE COUNTY OR CITY AND REQUIRE THE COMBINED FORCES OF A MUTUAL AID REGION OR REGIONS TO COMBAT.

WHEREAS the California Emergency Services Act Section 8550 of the California Government Code provides that the Governor has powers under said Act and the long recognized responsibility to mitigate the effects of man-made conditions of disaster or extreme peril to life, property and the resources of the State, and generally to protect the health and safety and preserve the lives and property of the people of the State; and

WHEREAS the California Emergency Services Act provides for the performance during an emergency of coordination and direction of emergency action by the Governor; and

WHEREAS the California Emergency Services Act provides further for rendering of mutual aid by the State government and all of its departments and agencies and by the political subdivisions of the State of the California Emergency Services Act; and

WHEREAS Section 8625 of the California Government Code provides that the Governor is empowered to proclaim a state of emergency in an area affected or likely to be affected by conditions of disaster or of extreme peril to the safety of persons and property within the State caused by conditions of air pollution if he finds that circumstances described in subdivision (b) of Section 8558 exist and he is requested to do so by the Mayor or Chief Executive of a City; and

* The portions of the plan presented here were originally published by the Office of Disaster Preparedness, Riverside, California, 1972.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Governor be requested to use his extraordinary powers to immediately implement an Emergency Plan requiring a rapid and programmed conversion of all "vehicles" having four (4) or more load bearing wheels registered to persons who reside in the South Coast Air Basin or which vehicles are permanently used therein, to gaseous fuel systems.

ADOPTED by the City Council and signed by the Mayor and attested by the City Clerk this 30th day of May, 1972.

Mayor of the City of Riverside

Attest:

City Clerk of the City of Riverside (Seal)

EMERGENCY PLAN

Introduction

Air Pollution in the South Coast Air Basin can be reduced by approximately 85 percent almost immediately. The method for accomplishing this is straightforward, simple and relatively inexpensive. In fact, the program would be self-financing and would result in a net savings to the consumer. Three steps are necessary:

(1) Convert Fleet vehicles in the Basin to natural gas fuel.

(2) Convert private automobiles in the area to liquid petroleum gas (LPG) fuel.

(3) Require new vehicles sold in the area to either be equipped for use of these fuels or to certify equal or lower pollutant emissions.

WHEREAS the City Council of the City of Riverside requests, through its Mayor, that the Governor proclaim the state of emergency in the South Coast Air Basin based upon the findings of the reports and other documents appended to this resolution and incorporated herein as if fully set forth; and

WHEREAS local authorities are inadequate to cope with the emergency of air pollution by virtue of the fact that pollution crosses many political subdivision jurisdictional lines and borders and contaminates the entire South Coast Basin;

WHEREAS even if the 1975 automobile emission standards were met, the increase in number of vehicles in the South Coast Air Basin, according to authoritative studies by the State-Wide Air Pollution Research Center, University of California, Riverside, will cause the oxidant level to exceed the currently established acceptable health standards, both Federal and State on numerous days, and, therefore, the emergency solution suggested herein is necessary in addition to and to complement the 1975 emission standards for new automobiles.

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED by the City Council of the City of Riverside that the Mayor of the City of Riverside is hereby directed and empowered to request the Governor, pursuant to Section 8625 of the California Government Code, subparagraph (b), to proclaim a state of emergency in the South Coast Air Basin which is an area affected or likely to be affected by conditions of disaster or of extreme peril to the safety of persons and property caused by conditions of air pollution and that local authority is inadequate to cope with said emergency.

Implementation of these steps will result in a 90 percent reduction in pollutant emissions from vehicles. Vehicles now contribute 94 percent by weight of pollutants in the South Coast Air Basin; hence an overall reduction of 85 percent will be achieved. Projections[1] based upon currently planned actions show that over 80 percent of California's population will still be breathing subquality air in 1980.

Implementation

There are approximately 6 million vehicles in the South Coast Air Basin that consume about 3 billion gallons of gasoline annually. Of these approximately 1/2 million are fleet vehicles which consume about 30% of the total fuel. Conversions should be made in a priority order reflecting the total fuel consumption and age of the vehicles.

(1) Fleets should receive first priority due to their higher fuel consumption and relative ease of conversion.

(2) Non-Fleet trucks and other heavy vehicles should receive second priority for similar reasons.

(3) Other private vehicle priorities should be established depending on weight and age. (Weight governs fuel consumption and cars near normal age attrition should receive lower emphasis.)

In addition, immediate notice should be served on auto makers that future cars sold in the area will be equipped for gaseous fuel or, alternatively, must certify pollutant levels equal or lower than gaseous fueled cars.

With appropriate priority, the conversion of fleet vehicles could be accomplished in two years on a program similar to that shown in Figure B.

---

[1]California Implementation Plan for Achieving and Maintaining National Ambient Air Quality Standards. November 7, 1971.

Complete conversion of all remaining vehicles would require about five years. On such a schedule, normal age attrition would account for 30 to 40 percent of vehicles. Maximum use should be made of industries presently engaged in motor vehicle conversion. The primary role of the State should be overall management. The State would need to provide planning, incentive and the overall coordination necessary to increase production of components and to provide for mass conversion of vehicles.

There are several options for funding and managing a conversion program for the South Coast Basin. Exact details must be developed by the State; however, the following guidelines are suggested:

(1) Private vehicle conversions should be mandatory and could be provided at no direct cost to the user.

(2) Funding could be obtained from three sources:

a. A direct and immediate area tax on gasoline.

b. A tax on gaseous fuels.

c. A statewide license fee scaled according to vehicle weight.

The gaseous fuels will average 5 or 6 cents per gallon less than gasoline, hence no increase in fuel cost to the user would accrue.

(3) Executive emergency powers should be used to effect rapid implementation and to avoid industrial profiteering.

Considering attrition of 30 to 40 percent of existing vehicles over the conversion period, the total program cost would be about 450 million dollars. A tax levy equivalent to only 3 cents per gallon on South Coast Basin fuel alone would finance the program in 5 years. Savings to the consumers in fuel and maintenance costs more than over the required funds.

QUESTIONS

Answer the following questions about the plan. Consider what would happen in Riverside if the plan were introduced today.

1. Why was the plan developed?

2. If accepted by the Governor, how would the plan affect Riverside?

3. Name as many groups as you can who might be affected by this plan.

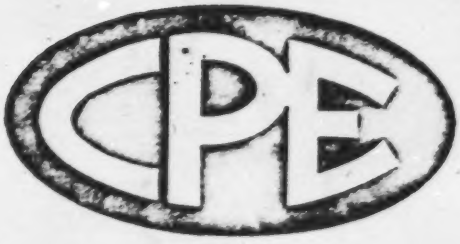
4. What do you think will happen in Riverside as a result of the reintroduction of the plan?

EXPERIMENTAL MATERIALS

CLEAN AIR NOW!

A Data Packet

Judith Gillespie
Stuart Lazarus



These experimental curriculum materials are part of a two-semester high school course, *Comparing Political Experiences.* This data packet is part of a unit, Clean Air Now, which is part of the *Political Issues* semester. The course is being developed by the High School Political Science Curriculum Project, which is one of the projects sponsored by the American Political Science Association's Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education. The project is supported by funds provided by the National Science Foundation. These materials cannot be duplicated, reproduced or used in any manner without the specific written approval of the High School Political Science Curriculum Project.

High School Political Science Curriculum Project
Social Studies Development Center
513 North Park Avenue
Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana 47401

Copyright, 1975 / The American Political Science Association

FOUNDERS AND LEADERS OF CAN

Don Bauer -- First CAN President

Don was elected first president of Clean Air Now on October 29, 1969. At that time, Don was serving as Dean of Students at a local university. He had become quite knowledgeable about the subject of smog through an intensive study of the subject.

He is a seventh-day Adventist minister who works mostly with young adults. He is a highly respected member of Riverside.

Don Zimmer -- First CAN Vice-President

Don Zimmer was elected first Vice-President of CAN on October 29, 1969. Don is an attorney working with a Riverside, California law firm. He is identified with many civic groups in Riverside, among them the Uptown Kiwanis Club.

Don was instrumental in the formation of CAN and is a member of CAN's Board of Directors. He also serves as legal consultant to CAN. His knowledge of the law is helpful in determining how state and federal legislation might affect Riverside.

John A. Palladino -- First Chairman Government Relations Committee

John A. Palladino is an attorney who has practiced in Riverside for over 15 years. After working for the Riverside County Public Defender's Office for three years, John resigned to become involved in private law practice. He has a special interest in zoning and planning and has organized citizen groups to fight zoning plans contrary to good zoning practice.

John has worked closely with CAN since its founding. He has been a member, a Director, and Chairman of the Government Relations Committee. He has been active in a variety of civic organizations including the City of Riverside General Plan, the Citizens Committee on Parks and Recreation, the Riverside Civic League and the Planning and Conservation League. He also has been a past chairman of the Riverside Chapter of the Sierra Club.

David D. Loge -- Press Relations Director
Board of Directors

In March 1970, David became Press Relations Director for CAN. Shortly after that he was elected to CAN's Board of Directors. During this time, David was a business analyst in the administrative offices of San Bernardino County. David served as Press Relations Director for his local church and was an active member of the Chamber of Commerce in Loma Linda, a community near Riverside.

Sharon Cordaro -- Recording Secretary/Current President

Sharon has been CAN's Recording Secretary since 1970 and is its current President. Sharon is a teacher concerned about the effect of smog in Riverside upon her two children. "I decided I just couldn't live in this area and not try to do something about our worst problem, air pollution. CAN was formed because people were becoming more conscious of the air pollution problem in this area."

Ann M. Hussey -- Secretary

Ann served as the first secretary of CAN. Although she moved to Riverside in 1968, she quickly became involved in the community. As a nurse, the health aspects of pollution have been a special concern to Ann.

Like many other CAN members, Ann has been very much involved in other community organizations. She has served on the Board of the Women's Auxiliary of the Riverside Medical Association and Chairperson of the Environment Committee. Ann has also been active in the Comprehensive Health Planning Association of Riverside County and she has served as a school observer for the Riverside League of Women Voters.

Lynn McQuern - Member Board of Directors -- 1971-2

Lynn was elected to the Board of Directors in the fall of 1971. Lynn has served as a co-editor of the Clean Air News, CAN's newsletter. He is an active newspaperman and a member of several environmental organizations.

Joe Doty -- Member Board of Directors 1971-2/Past President

Joe was elected to CAN's Board of Directors in the fall of 1972. At the time, Joe was studying political science at the University of California in Riverside. Joe made an effort to learn as much as he could about government control of air pollution. He was a member of a local air pollution association.

Most importantly, Joe worked to find out as much as he could about the Los Angeles Air Pollution Control District. He recently completed a report on the activities of the Los Angeles Air Pollution Control District.

These people are just a few of many associated with CAN. However, they do represent the political resources which most members brought to the group.

Statement by Sharon Cordaro, Current President of CAN

"CAN was formed at the end of 1969 because people were becoming more conscious of the air pollution problem in this area. Everyone always knew that Los Angeles had a problem with air pollution, but it wasn't as well known here until we got monitoring stations. People began to be informed that we really had one. There's a station in Riverside. In fact, we have two in Riverside and one in Palm Springs and one in the Perris area, one in Corona, one in San Bernardino, quite a few.

"We had public meetings. One of the first things they did -- I believe they had 140,000 names on a big petition and Don Bauer, who was President, took this petition to Sacramento. There was a big ceremony on the Capitol steps presenting the petition to the Lieutenant Governor. The petition says something like, "we believe that we have the right to clean air and we want something done about it legislatively." So, that was one that got a lot of publicity in the paper, of course. We put out newsletters periodically and then about three years later a slide show was developed. There were several copies of that which we still use. This has been given to thousands of people, all kinds of groups, church groups, Kiwanis, service clubs, and schools. We called the Speaker's Bureau and had publicity and then the word just spreads around. We also have pamphlets and things that we give out.

"Because we are a volunteer group, we had some problems. When you're depending on volunteers to staff it and to do all the nitty gritty work that has to be done to help it survive, it's tough to get started. I think

publicity is one of the main things -- getting articles in the paper about what you are doing and then the newsletter. We have a membership campaign on right now because we have had a membership not as large in the last couple of years. As it was in the earlier days, this is partly because some of our officers were pursuing legal matters and were not as active in the local area. They were prosecuting the Los Angeles Air Pollution Control District, so that reduced the number of people able to do things locally, and our local membership did drop. Now, we're basically in San Bernardino and Riverside counties, but we have members from as far away as Palm Springs and a number of towns within 15 miles.

"We send out renewal letters to the members each year. Now we are revising our membership files. I have a very good membership chairman, who is going to send a renewal letter to people at the time that their dues are coming due.

"When the Clean Air amendments passed in 1970, states were supposed to make a plan as to how they could meet these standards, and if they did not make a plan, then the EPA was supposed to impose a plan. California did not come up with one. The EPA set forth this one that included gasoline rationing among other options -- and charging a person five dollars a day to park at their office building. Anyway, then they had to come around and have hearings on this plan, public hearings to see how the people reacted to this plan. Of course, the reaction was very adverse, because there were very radical things in there.

"I went to the hearings here in Riverside, and CAN made a statement. Also, I made a personal statement at that meeting and many organizations did. CAN's position at that time was that we would accept gas rationing, and our members would, if that's what we needed to clean up the air. We felt that that was the most important thing. If people had to ration gas, they would be able to work it out. After all of this happened, though, you get to wonder whether it was really valid, this whole business of hearings. Now you see the EPA has recommended that Congress amend the '77 standards, which is something we're very upset about."

Worksheet for Clean Air Now Data Packet

1. How many members belong to CAN?

_____

2. What goals guide the activities of the organization?

_____

_____

_____

3. What political resources do the founders and leaders have?

Name	Resources
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

4. Give three examples of the methods used by CAN to support the fight for clean air?

_____

_____

_____

5. Would you join a group led by these people? Why or why not?

_____

_____

_____

6. How successful do you think CAN will be? _____

Why? _____

_____

_____

7. What relationship exists between the successful organization of a group and political resources of the group's leaders?

_____

_____

_____

Worksheet for Clean Air Now Data Packet

1. How many members belong to CAN?

_____

2. What goals guide the activities of the organization?

_____

_____

_____

3. What political resources do the founders and leaders have?

Name	Resources
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

4. Give three examples of the methods used by CAN to support the fight for clean air?

_____

_____

_____

5. Would you join a group led by these people? Why or why not?

_____

_____

_____

6. How successful do you think CAN will be? _____

Why? _____

_____

_____

7. What relationship exists between the successful organization of a group and political resources of the group's leaders?

_____

_____

_____

Worksheet for Clean Air Now Data Packet

1. How many members belong to CAN?

2. What goals guide the activities of the organization?

3. What political resources do the founders and leaders have?

Name	Resources

4. Give three examples of the methods used by CAN to support the fight for clean air?

5. Would you join a group led by these people? Why or why not?

6. How successful do you think CAN will be? _____

Why? _____

_____

_____

7. What relationship exists between the successful organization of a group and political resources of the group's leaders?

_____

_____

_____

Worksheet for Clean Air Now Data Packet

1. How many members belong to CAN?

2. What goals guide the activities of the organization?

3. What political resources do the founders and leaders have?

Name	Resources

4. Give three examples of the methods used by CAN to support the fight for clean air?

5. Would you join a group led by these people? Why or why not?

6. How successful do you think CAN will be? _____

Why? _____

_____

_____

7. What relationship exists between the successful organization of a group and political resources of the group's leaders?

_____

_____

_____

Additional materials, such as reprints of "Clean Air News (CAN)," removed to conform with copyright laws.